THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. LXXXVIII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15 NUMBER 1267

Spain's Heartbreak

The fighting heart of Spain is broken. The military junta that seized control by a coup d'état is a government to arrange surrender, against the will—even now—of the former legitimate government and many of the people. Its persecution of the Communists—terribly unjust, for they have been self-sacrificing and loyal fighters for the Republic—indicates the end of any attempt at resistance. Only with all the people united could Spain fight on. Suppression of the Communists indicates, too, that Generals Miaja and Casado hope to win leniency from Franco by sacrificing their old comrades-in-arms, as it seems they would have sacrificed Juan Negrín if he had not fled.

There will be talk of lenient terms, of Fascist "generosity." But the Spanish people, even many of those who wish to surrender, must know that the black years are descending on them again. Even the leaders who have decided that they must now yield to Franco can expect no more mercy than the Austrian leaders had from Hitler. And in Franco's external policies it will be the same. France has an enemy—allied with her other enemies—on her southern border. England must remember jealous Fascist glances at Gibraltar. The United States is contesting Fascist influence in Latin America—of which Spain is the mother country. Neither France and England nor we ourselves can expect anything but hostility from Franco. We broke Spain's heart by not helping her when she was defending us. Now we shall have to look out for ourselves.

Putting a Spoke in the Axis

The Mediterranean Munich that nearly all observers are confidently predicting for this spring will presumably have a doubly repetitious character. First of all, its results are likely to parallel those of the September Munich—with France as the new victim, instead of Czecho-Slovakia. Second, the excuses offered by the Tory governments of France and England for sacrificing their nations' vital interests will probably parallel those of the earlier crisis over the Italo-Ethiopian war and the German occupation of the Rhineland. In that less spectacular time the British declared that they could not devote their full strength to discouraging Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, since Germany threatened them in the north. When the Germans moved into the Rhineland they put the argument into reverse, just as effectively. The truth of the matter is that the British did not want to stop the aggressors and still do not. The Week, the London confidential news letter, has recently appraised the British ruling class according to the policies advocated by its different groups. A small group is actually in favor of the policy that England now professes to be following, that of weaning Italy away from the Axis by being nice to her in Spain. But the members of a much larger group want to be nice to Mussolini for another reason. They don't want to get him out of the Axis, they want to get themselves in.

CONTENTS

The Week 149

Editorials

Pius the Peacemaker 153
The Next War in China 154
The Court and the Sitdowns 155

General Articles

"The Education of Henry Adams" . . . . . Louis Kronenberger 156
The Driven People . . . . . John Stevens and Lawrence A. Fernsworth 158
The Teachers' Struggle for Democracy . . . . . Jerome Davis 161
Mr. Jamieson Makes a Sale . Duane Decker 163
M-Day's Child Is Fair of Face (verse) . . . . . Muriel Rukeyser 164
Washington Notes . . . . T. R. B. 164
Other People's Money . . John T. Flynn 165
The Phaidon Press El Greco . Stark Young 166
The Bandwagon 167

Correspondence 168

Books in Review

The Brown Koran . . . . . Alfred Vagts and Miriam Beard 170
The Long Revolution . John Hyde Preston 171
China Can Win . . Victor A. Yakhontoff 172
The Other Dimension . . Robert Bierstedt 173
Vivisectionist . . . . . Philip Horton 174
New Books: A Reader's List 175

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mississippi Republocrat

That stalwart Republocrat, Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi, is leading a movement in Congress that is about as good a device as any campaign manager could invent to pave the way for the election of a Republican President in 1940. He says he wants all appropriations cut 10 percent, in the interest of the economy which organized business demands. No matter whether he is successful or not, this pistol aimed at the New Deal can scarcely miss fire. Let us say that he fails. It is hard to cut appropriations, whether for expanded defense, or relief, or established government agencies. The Republicans can then in the next election mobilize the sentiment that their Democratic allies have aroused for "economy," and profit from the fact that a Democratic Congress failed to effectuate it. (Of course they do not actually need to spend less when they get in.) But if Senator Harrison succeeds, the resulting damage to recovery and the resentments aroused will help elect the Republicans anyway. Here is still more proof that Vice President Garner—who is undoubtedly behind the move—would rather be wrong than be President.

Health Next

Senator Wagner continues his amazing record of being sponsor for more progressive social legislation than any other member of the Senate, this time by introducing a bill to carry into effect the National Health Program. On the principle of "grants in aid" by the federal government to states adopting approved plans, it aims to encourage more maternal and child-health services, more medical services for children, including the crippled and physically handicapped, an extension of public-health work, more hospital and health centers, better medical care for those in rural regions or suffering from economic distress, and more temporary-disability compensation. Even the more conservative members of the medical profession cannot object to most of these projects. The widest possible latitude is allowed; the standard bogeys of political control and bureaucracy are avoided. And there is no doubt of the tremendous need. Passage of the bill is, we believe, a foregone conclusion. Then comes the big task—expert administration.

Mr. Dies and Mr. Gallup

When the Institute of Public Opinion took a poll which showed that a large majority of the voters wanted the Dies committee continued, critics felt that this poll, like so many others, was taken with loaded dice. The alternatives presented were too simple. Did the people trust Dies and approve of the way he had conducted his hearings, or were they simply interested in having more light on anti-democratic movements, whose eagerness to denounce communism had given in this country? They had no chance to say. Nevertheless, rise to the incident was attacked in the State Senate Congress who wanted to help Dies smear all liberal and progressive groups.

Dr. Gallup has now made some amends by a new poll revealing more precisely what people wish the committee to do. The largest number of those voting, or 42 percent, want to find out about foreign propaganda tending toward getting us into war. They believe, apparently, that war presents a larger danger to this country than either fascism or communism, that we were drawn into the last war by propaganda, and that it should not happen again. The next largest number, or 32 percent, believe the most important job for the committee is to investigate Fascist and Nazi activity in the United States—something Mr. Dies paid scant attention to in his former sessions. Only 26 percent of the voters are so nervous about Communist activity that they think investigating that is the committee's main function. (Republicans differed from Democrats, being less afraid of fascism than of communism.)

Incidentally, this poll reveals that only one voter in every four ever heard of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee. Its work is vastly superior to that of Dies, and far more important to democracy, yet it was not continued by Congress. Responsibility for the relative publicity given to the two bodies rests squarely on the American press. Of those who had heard of the La Follette committee, 60 percent were in favor of its work going on.

Morris Ernst and the Communists

There's a lesson for timorous liberals in the recent unfortunate incident in the National Lawyers' Guild. This organization, formed several years ago to offset the stodgy conservatism of the American Bar Association, and containing many prominent lawyers, was reported by the press to be torn by dissension over Communist influence within it. Justice Pecora and others of national reputation had, it was said, resigned. They were reported to have done so because a resolution introduced by Mr. Morris Ernst at the last convention, denouncing both communism and fascism, had failed of adoption. Several of those mentioned as having resigned promptly repudiated the report; apparently the news editors had not even taken the trouble to confirm it. The threatened breach was promptly healed by a conference of those concerned, in which it was brought out that the Ernst resolution had been voted down, not because the convention did not approve its tenor, but because by its constitution the Guild was already dedicated to American principles and it was thought unwise to give the public the false impression that there had ever been any question about it.

And now comes the snap of the whip. Mr. Ernst,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

McNaboe of New York. The confirmation of his reappointment to the State Banking Board was threatened. McNaboe had a great deal to say about Ernst's connection with the American Civil Liberties Union, which he described as a "front for the Communist Party in the United States."

Downing Street Calling

So at last we have gotten round to appointing a new Ambassador to Moscow. Mr. Laurence A. Steinhardt, who gets the job, is a diplomat of some experience, having served four years as Minister to Sweden and two years as Ambassador to Peru. The Russians will be glad to have him. They will return the compliment either by sending Troyanovsky back—he would be welcomed here—or else by appointing a new man. All that is good news. What worries us about the whole affair is the parallelism—to use the fashionable diplomatic word—that it seems to show between our State Department and the British Foreign Office. For the last year, Moscow and London have been on rather strained terms. For most of that time—and for no reason that can be explained in terms of American interests—we have had no Ambassador in Moscow. Suddenly we read that a British trade delegation is going to the Soviet Union and that Mr. Chamberlain, for the first time in his life, has drunk champagne at the Soviet embassy. What happened then? Did Mr. Chamberlain go back to Downing Street in an expansive state of mind and put through a transatlantic phone call to Washington? "I say there," we can imagine him saying, "it's quite all right for you chaps to send a man to Moscow, if you're sure he's a safe choice."

Plot Over Palestine

The one hope of permanent peace in Palestine lies in an understanding between the Arabs and the Jews. But how could such an understanding be reached at the Palestine conference in London? The British did nothing to encourage it. Their official proposals, calling for the end of the British mandate, the restriction of Jewish immigration and the establishment of an independent Palestine, were made without hope of their being accepted. Apparently they were brought forward to see what the reactions would be. In the end, the chances are that Britain will cook up her own plan, sugar it heavily with sweet phrases and cram it down the throats of Jews and Arabs alike.

No one can yet say what the British plan will be. It should be remembered, however, that the present method of defending the Empire is to "appease" the fascists. The British news-letter, The Week, states that the British government has two alternative notions about what may come out of the conference. One is that nothing will come out, in which case the British will feel that they have regained their "freedom of

Arab kingdom, including Syria, Palestine, Transjordan and Lebanon, to be ruled by a king of the royal house of Egypt and probably guaranteed by a four-power pact. That would be a great victory for Hitler and Mussolini and a great defeat for the Jews. According to what the British are telling some of the Zionists, there would be autonomy for the Jewish National Home and Lebanon—but what a perilous autonomy. The Balfour Declaration would simply be forgotten.

The Two Ukraines

When you read about Nazi agents at work among the Ukrainian nationalists, remember that there are really two Ukraines. One of them used to be part of the Austrian Empire and is now owned by Poland. It is inhabited by a mixture of races, but the Poles have the government jobs and own most of the land. The Ukrainian peasants, who form the bulk of the local population, are the worst treated national minority in Europe (always excepting the Jews). They look back to the Austrian Empire as a golden age, and hence are always friendly to Germans. They listen willingly to Nazi agents; indeed, they would listen to anybody who promised them land and freedom. If the land was first drenched with Polish blood, that would be even better.

The other Ukraine was part of the Russian Empire and is now a Soviet republic. Its chief memory of the Germans is the 1918 invasion, when the Kaiser's troops marched through the countryside requisitioning grain —stealing it, that is—and hanging Ukrainian peasants on portable gallows. The Soviet Ukraine reads and writes its own language and elects its own officials; there is practically no racial problem. There is some political disaffection; plots and purges have been more frequent than in Great Russia; but there seems to be little real separatist feeling. Nazi agents would not be welcomed, even if they got past the border guards.

Teachers Together

The article by President Jerome Davis of the American Federation of Teachers in this issue of The New Republic summarizes the facts concerning that organization that do not get into the daily press. As a power for enlightenment and American principles the Federation deserves the loyalty and united action of all its members. The story of the rapid growth of its membership and influence is news indeed. Yet readers of the newspapers have heard of it recently only in connection with a local row over alleged Communist influence.

Several professors resigned from the New York College Teachers' local on this ground, and their statements made the headlines. As an offset to their loss, Dr. Ned H. Dearborn, dean of the New York University division of general education, has announced his application for membership, saying that he di

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they resigned. Conservative AF of L forces have also been attacking the union for tolerating Communist influence. The newspapers reported, and The New Republic repeated, that the AF of L Executive Council had threatened the union with expulsion unless it "purged" itself. A letter from President William Green to Mr. Davis states, however, that the threat had been uttered only by Mr. Matthew Woll of the Executive Council.

While the American Federation of Teachers does not discriminate against members because of their political opinions, and does not conduct inquisitions and witch hunts, it is an efficient and progressive trade union, not led or influenced by Communists. Isn't it time for intelligent people to realize that the red bogey is useful only to blackshirts and brownshirts and their allies?

Check and Double Check

We have a stern letter from two scientific-minded Texans apropos of Malcolm Cowley's recent article discussing The New Republic and its readers ("Transatlantic View," January 18). Our correspondents feel that we are deplorably vague about the influence we may or may not have in "actually helping to shape the contour of current history." They demand coldly: "What research checks do you employ, if any, in an effort to determine your concrete social effectiveness?" And they ask for a reply consonant with "the intellectual integrity and editorial sincerity often displayed by New Republic." This catches us where we live. Boy and man, The New Republic has kept house with scientific method for nearly twenty-five years, beginning at a time when there were fewer hard-reasoning instructors of sociology in Texas and other states than there are now. But we haven't yet discovered a strictly scientific method for testing our social effectiveness. If our readers get an idea, maybe even a new idea, from these pages sometimes, then The New Republic is getting somewhere. But how you can measure the effectiveness of an idea, other than by waiting a while to see if it grows up and is able to get around on its own legs? The two professors might answer that one.

News Notes of a Week

Germany's war department and other government departments were revealed to be paying industry for deliveries in IOU's, amounting already to a total of a billion marks. . . . Austrian church properties—estimated at about $100,000,000—were gradually passing into the hands of the Reich by appointment of government commissioners to administer them. . . . Owing to the rise in note circulation, Germany's ratio of gold to sight liabilities dropped to 0.8 percent. . . . In Warsaw, 15,000 students demonstrated against the German embassy. Last fall the Polish government would have frightened by the Nazis. . . . But in spite of these signs of strain no one dared predict the collapse of the Nazi crazy-quilt economy. Criminals don't go bankrupt, no matter how badly they invest; they go on stealing. . . . Mohandas K. Gandhi made a "fast unto death," as a demand for democratic reforms in the tiny Indian state of Rajkot. After five days he broke it; the reforms had been promised.

As the House of Representatives began consideration of the Cochran-Warren governmental-reorganization bill its opponents were attempting to split its support by pushing the Byrd bill, favorably reported to the Senate, as a substitute. . . . Although Congress had given his previous request for an additional $150,000,000 for WPA the "silent treatment," President Roosevelt was expected to make it again. . . . Homer Martin's rump convention of auto workers represented, according to Martin, over 200,000 union men, according to his own credentials committee about 100,000, and according to the CIO 17,500. It attacked the CIO and made Communists, Nazis and Fascists ineligible for membership. . . . The biggest peacetime army supply bill, $520,000,000, was passed by the House in fifteen minutes, with no amendments and practically no debate. . . . A man was fired from his job and went walking around backwards. He couldn't help it; psychiatrists said it was the result of frustration. We hear the Republicans are grooming him for President.

Pius the Peacemaker

THE PROMPT ELECTION of Cardinal Pacelli to the papacy, his choice of the name Pius, and his first message to Catholics and non-Catholics announcing his interest in peace, indicate that the Vatican is going to play an even more active role in international politics than it has done under Pius XI. It is almost without precedent that the Papal Secretary of State should be elevated to the supreme rulership of the Church. Pius XII has been distinguished for his negotiations with the German, Italian and other governments rather than as a pastor or spiritual leader. It is important therefore to assess the probable effects of this evident desire of the College of Cardinals to have an active Pope with a strong interest in, and aptitude for, temporal affairs.

A good deal of the publicity that attended the choice was to the effect that it was displeasing to Hitler and Mussolini and a good omen for the democracies. There is no doubt that the new Pope has offered sturdy opposition to Hitler's persecution of the Catholics and Jews. His relations with the Italian government are somewhat less clear; while the Vatican has not been entirely complaisant under fascism, it has in recent years offered little active opposition to it in either foreign or domes-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been influential in the policy of the Church, he must share responsibility for the weakening of democracy in Austria by the establishment of a clerical fascism under Mussolini's protection. And it is hardly reassuring to progressive democrats that the Vatican has joined Mussolini in open partisanship for Franco in Spain. It would, in our opinion, be drawing an unwarranted conclusion to suppose that because at the moment the Church is involved in a struggle with the Nazis it can be counted upon as a friend of peace and democracy.

It seems more likely that His Holiness Pius XII in his former post as Secretary of State has been concerned primarily, not with advancing the cause of democracy on the one hand or of fascism on the other, or even with preserving international peace. What he has been doing is rather to try to protect the interests of the Church as an organization in the usual way of opposing those governments and political movements which seem implacably hostile to it, and making the best terms possible with those that are willing to give it scope—at least if such governments cannot be overthrown in favor of more friendly ones. He will prefer a Franco to a Spanish republic if Franco can win, because under Franco the Church is accorded special privileges by the State. If the Loyalists had won, he would have tried to make peace with them. He will oppose Hitler in Germany as long as Hitler will not come to terms with the Vatican; but if the Nazis would accept a concordat, he would not care too much what their attitude toward democracy or even toward peace might be. In America he will be friendly to the ruling powers as long as the Church is not persecuted here; but in the unlikely event that there should arise a powerful, anti-democratic movement in this country that would give the Church a larger share in temporal affairs, he would not hesitate to coöperate with it.

Can such a Pope contribute to the cause of international peace? No doubt he sincerely desires to do so if possible. If the Church could avert a world war or be in a position to end it by mediation, it would gain immense prestige. A highly spiritual Pope, who remained severely aloof from temporal affairs and emphasized the Christian virtues, might earn enough respect from Catholics and non-Catholics alike to exert tremendous influence within all nations and parties. A world sick of strife, fearful of the politics of pressure and power, might turn with relief to the brotherhood of man under the auspices of a common religious father. It seems likely, however, that the more active the Church is in temporal affairs, the less opportunity there will be for it to wield moral authority as a peacemaker. Shrewd and successful as it might be in making alliances with the powerful, it would in this case arouse too many suspicions and antagonisms. And if it were not shrewd and successful enough to avoid having its fortunes associated with the losers, it would come out of a war impoverished, divided

The Next War in China

OUR FRIENDS home from China tell us that the country is booming like the Wild West in the days of the first railroads. When the government was forced back into the far interior, it found itself in possession of a vast and populous country that had scarcely changed since the Ming dynasty. The first problem has been to tie it together with railroads and highways. For this there is little machinery available, but there are millions of workers and a vast enthusiasm. The Burma road—2,200 miles long if measured from its northern terminus at Chungking—is only one of the new undertakings. Beside it will run a railroad that will soon be under construction. Another railroad, partly open for traffic, is being extended eastward toward the Pacific, through territory still in Chinese hands. It has already resulted in a great increase of exports from the little seacoast cities south of Shanghai.

Prospectors are flocking into Sikang, a newly organized province on the northeastern border of Tibet. It is rich in gold, timber and giant pandas. A new highway has been opened from Szechwan Province north to Sian, in the midst of the region controlled by the Eighth Route Army (once the Red Army). Most of the famous Lunghai railroad, along the Yellow River, is now held by the Japanese. But before retreating, the Chinese tore up the rails, and these are being relaid west of Sian, on the road to Lanchow. We are sorry to be using so many Chinese names, but each of them is important. Lanchow, for example, is the Chinese terminus of the great caravan road from Russia across the desert, now a journey of seventeen days by motor truck. Russian supplies are reaching there, some by truck, some by plane and some by camels that shuffle through the sand exactly as camels have done for three thousand years. But instead of silks and pottery, they now carry machine guns and airplane bombs.

For the moment, the fighting is almost at a standstill. You can't call it war in China, and certainly not peace; it is a sort of interbellum. Last week the Japanese captured the last seaport that the Chinese had been holding north of Shanghai. They will nip off a few more cities, but the chief task they are undertaking is to organize the territories already invaded. With their modern weapons they can go almost anywhere in China; the question that bothers them is whether they can get back again. Recently they advertised a third big offensive against the Eighth Route Army in Shansi Province, in the bend of the Yellow River. They came, they saw, they conquered—but what they conquered was a hornet's nest, and they moved very quickly out of that vicinity. They are coming back again, so they say, for the Eighth Route Army is at present their most danger-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

guerillas to do most of its fighting, at a minimum expenditure of men, ammunition and money. Its long-term strategy is to wear out the enemy, make them exhaust their financial and military resources, and keep them from making any profit out of China. Meanwhile the Chinese themselves, in their Far West, will be equipping and training new armies. They think that in about two years Japan will be as tired and groggy as a boxer who has been forcing the fight for fifteen rounds. That is the moment when they plan to fight back. The real war in China is scheduled to begin at the end of 1941.

The Court and the Sitdowns

SICKNESS AND DEATH appear to have produced a four-to-three decision by the Supreme Court, the implications of which have been lost sight of in the widespread approval of the ban on sitdown strikes. The fact that on a very important issue Stone agreed with Reed and Black in the Fansteel case has been generally ignored. It is probable that Brandeis and Cardozo, had they participated in the case, would have sided with Stone, rather than with Hughes—and that Frankfurter and the still unnamed judge would also take that view. The accident of decision at this particular time has resulted in what may be a far-reaching misfortune.

The decision, if adhered to, can have important consequences in restricting the discretion of administrative tribunals. In the Fansteel case two groups of employees were involved in the sitdown, those inside the plant and those who, from the outside, helped them by bringing in food. The first group was discharged by the company while the strike was on; the second group was never discharged, but when the plant reopened, these men, like the others, were not rehired. The Labor Board ordered the reinstatement of both groups on the ground that the strike had resulted from unfair labor practices on the part of the company. The Board disputed the right of the company to discharge men while on strike; the company disputed the right of the Board to compel the reinstatement of men who had been wrongdoers.

Whether or not the company had the right to discharge strikers depended on a construction of Section 2, subdivision 3, of the National Labor Relations Act, which defined an employee subject to its terms as "any individual whose work has ceased because of any unfair labor practice." The question of interpretation was whether this merely preserved a striker's status, despite the commencement of a strike, or compelled his continuance as an employee during the entire course of the strike. Most of the Supreme Court's opinion dealt with this issue, as did the entire dissent of Mr. Justice Reed, with which Mr. Justice Black concurred. On this issue Mr. Justice Stone sided with the majority, namely, the status of men never discharged, makes the interpretation of the statute a matter of no importance at all. For the majority concluded that even as to persons who remained employees throughout the strike the Board had no power of reinstatement when such persons had violated the law. The Chief Justice justified this decision by the argument that it would run counter to the purposes of the act—to encourage peaceful settlements of labor disputes—to reinstate anyone who had taken the law into his own hands. He condemned the action of the Board as an arbitrary exercise of its discretion. Mr. Justice Stone, on the other hand, believed that since the men involved were still employees and thus within the jurisdiction of the Board, the Court should not interfere with the Board's discretion.

Surely the majority went far enough in ruling that those persons might not be reinstated who had been discharged for cause by an employer himself guilty—for the entire Court upheld the Board's ruling that the Fansteel company had been guilty of unfair labor practices which brought about the strike. If the employer does not believe an employee's conduct serious enough to warrant discharge, it is difficult to understand why it should be arbitrary for the Labor Board to order his reinstatement.

It may be, however, that this phase of the Fansteel decision, while theoretically a serious blow to all administrative agencies, will have slight practical consequences. If, as appears likely from recent press reports, employers engage in wholesale dismissals during strikes, the courts will be required to pass upon the justification for these discharges rather than the exercise of the Labor Board's discretion. It is to be hoped that the courts will not carry the implication of the Fansteel decision to its logical extreme and uphold discharges resting on trifling violations of the law by strikers, such, for instance, as disorderly conduct on the picket line.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

Editors

BRUCE BLIVEN MALCOLM COWLEY R. M. LOVETT
GEORGE SOULE STARK YOUNG

Assistant Editors: OTIS FERGUSON ELIZABETH HULING

Contributing Editors

JAMES BENÉT BRUCE BLIVEN JR. H. N. BRAILSFORD
HEYWOOD BROUN JOHN T. FLYNN WALDO FRANK
E. C. LINDEMAN JON. MITCHELL LEWIS MUMFORD
REXFORD G. TUGWELL

Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

E. G. WOOD, *Advertising Manager* BYRON DEXTER, *Circulation Manager*

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN, FIVE DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS;

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The Education of Henry Adams"

The Sixth of the "Books That Changed Our Minds"

FOUR GENERATIONS after one member of the Adams family helped compose the Declaration of Independence, another sat down and wrote a book declaring it null and void. So rapidly had events come to pass that it required just a century and a quarter to demolish America's greatest act of faith with her most withering words of denial. Between John Adams and his great-grandson Henry lay the total wreck of a dream. The disaster had robbed Henry Adams not only of his illusions but equally of his usefulness; the thing that had come about was beyond Henry Adams' ability to cope with or fight against or repair; he, who had burned to participate in American life, was reduced to becoming its stern and dissident historian. Hence, to confess his own failure, and to reveal the far greater failure that had brought his own about, and to fail (as he thought) in confessing it, Adams sat down and wrote the "Education."

The "Education" found its most responsive readers in those years following the World War when they too had reason to believe that American life had failed them; and to every American intellectual who still retained inside him vestiges of the American moralist, Adams' grim citation of a century's crimes and blunders helped explain the plight of the modern world. The demonstration seemed Euclidean enough to justify the bitterly ironic tone which overhung it: for here was Henry Adams, supremely well born, talented, eager, thoughtful, industrious, confessing that every ideal he owned had been traduced; insisting that the world of action had been impossible to enter, and the world of thought powerless to give hope. Only chaos, explosion, cataclysm loomed ahead. A sensitive person was better out of life; in it, a Henry Adams could only by turns shudder and grow brutally cynical.

The book which reached these conclusions remains an important document of American intellectual and moral inquiry, if only because not a dozen Americans of any period were intellectually and morally of a stature to produce it. It is predicated of very nearly a first-rate mind and something like a first-rate experience. If the mind fails us, it is chiefly from not being purposeful enough; if the experience, it is from being largely of one kind. Adams came to know everything within the reach of the cultivated man of the world, everything to be had of drawing-rooms and libraries, colleges and clubs, churches and ruins, senates and courts; but, though such contact was capable of a thousand variations, its bounds were immovably fixed. Henry Adams was an aristocrat, and a peculiarly modern aristocrat, quite unlike his spacious Renaissance ancestor for whom privilege meant an extension, not a curtailment, of adventures.

This is palpable everywhere through the "Education"; but something else about Henry Adams is palpable in its very title. Adams self-consciously sought to channel his experiences and to convert them into education. The attitude is praiseworthy enough, but at the outset it is interesting to note what produced it. What first of all produced it, we may suppose, was his Puritan background, quivering with moral earnestness: a background which, moreover, if it served as a spur to education, served equally as a backstop; and which, if it accounts during four generations for the Adams strength, accounts no less for its want of suppleness. But the Puritan impulse coincided perfectly with something else which caused Adams to treat life as education: the nineteenth-century crusade for progress and enlightenment. The nineteenth century seemed to think that if man only knew enough, and remained a "moral" animal, he could reform and stabilize the world. The belief was hardly one which Adams, as he grew older, was encouraged to share; but the atmosphere that produced it was one he never outgrew. It was a moral as well as an intellectual impulse that caused him to plunge headlong into the flood of science and philosophy that engulfed his age; it was some desperate faith in pure knowledge, which even a highly ironic temperament could not extinguish, that turned Henry Adams into a lifelong student. True enough, it was difficult for him to make something systematic and cosmic of all he studied. The result, in that line, was never much more than brilliant dilettantism; but it saved Adams, if not from disillusionment, then from disintegration.

If the "Education" were no more than a worldling's reminiscences and a student's recapitulations, all tied together with philosophical ribbons, we might praise its prose and wit and acknowledge its intellectual expressiveness of an era; but we should put it among the memorials, and not the textbooks, of American experience. But the "Education" is a grand-scale study of maladjustment, of the failure of an exceptional personality to mesh with a prodigious civilization: posing, with one gesture, the problem of the man and his times. The problem of each, by the time Adams' autobiography was made public, had grown greater and more acute; so that in the decade following Adams' death the "Education" had a significance it only partly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Like most serious autobiographies, the "Education" is an attempt, not to record a man's life, but to explain it. It is the work, at bottom, of one who set out both to judge and to justify himself. This dual intention is significant, even though what Adams attempted to justify was failure. We may take the liberty of supposing that this dual intention was embodied very simply: Adams judged himself by asking a question, and justified himself by returning an answer. Why—he asks in effect—should someone who started off with every opportunity, and with faith and eagerness, have ended up with so little achieved, dissentient and in utter flight? Because, he answers, the world he had set out to serve had been seized by forces he would not accept for master; and nothing better remained than to try to understand those forces and inveigh against them.

The "Education" is, then, a perfectly *conscious* study of frustration and deflected purpose; of the failure of a superior man to find the right place, or any tolerable place, in a civilization growing ever more corrupt, rapacious and vulgar. No one ever wrote a more deliberate apologia of his life than Henry Adams. I shall have much to say later concerning the make-up of the particular man, concerning his blunders and prejudices, his distaste for enduring his situation, his predisposition to abandon it. But all that has a psychological importance, not a philosophical one; it delimits, but does not destroy, the real meaning of his book. What gives the "Education" its lasting value, what made a generation of futilitarians clasp it to their breasts, is the validity of the predicament regardless of the shortcomings of the man. For if not Henry Adams, then another, or many others, were paralyzed by the terms of that struggle in which he was so centrally engaged. Confronted by the greed of a banking civilization, the crookedness of boss-rule politics, the vulgarity of a parvenu culture, the cynicism of an exploitative ruling class, the middle-class intellectual was pretty well doomed either to suffer or succumb or escape. At the best, if his convictions had real fiber, he might die fighting the reformer's luckless battle; more likely he would accept the situation, as John Hay did, and wax fat off the spoils; or flee it and accept its more graceful counterpart elsewhere, as did Henry James; or take to excoriating it, aware that his mockery was the sign of his weakness, as Adams felt driven to do.

There appeared, in any case, to be no lasting adjustment that could be called an honest one. The superior man might, by the world's standards, succeed or fail; it hardly mattered, since he could not remain whole. No doubt he best avoided contamination by going into retirement; but then he was not fully alive, and then he had abandoned his responsibilities. If he remained in action, he might deceive himself into thinking that he was fighting the good fight by opposing specific men, championing specific measures; but if he remained had for enemy the whole huge mass of things. And unless one was an incorrigible idealist or a convinced revolutionary, that was a task leading to dislocation and despair. Henry Adams, very early, became too pessimistic and cynical to go on being a participant. He chose, instead, a place on the sidelines, and from there set about recording the minutes of all the unsavory transactions of America's public life. The picture of such proceedings which Adams drew, or at least suggested, in the "Education" is a final one. For not only were its revelations damning, but its sources were unimpeachable. It was the indictment of a supremely placed worldling who had listened at the most private keyholes, who had been told—or allowed to guess—the secrets of those who worked behind the scenes. Scarcely anyone else who did so little knew so much. Adams' indictment stands: the great documentary merit of the "Education" is its demonstration of what nineteenth-century America had become, and by what process, and on what terms.

The philosophical merit, which once seemed a merit so much greater, is by no means so great. For the intellectuals of the twenties, the "Education" was an epic after their own hearts. *Epic* is no idly used word; the scale and severity of the book are important. In one sense, the most misleading thing about it is its impressiveness. Written with much of the formality that Gibbon used in his "Memoirs," and in the same third person, it comes at the reader with so magisterial an air that halfway through it he grants it the confidence reserved for an attested masterpiece. The Adams manner confers on the Adams apologia a definite extrinsic weight. There is the sense of a large mind and an imposing personality; there is the sense—unimpaired by the irony of the book—of deep purpose and high seriousness. Henry Adams, who lived his life in a minor key, took every precaution to write about it in a major one. The "Education" is a completely full-dress performance.

The 1920's could use such an authoritative approach. The 1920's could bend the knee before a master who celebrated their own misgivings and disappointments. He ennobled their dilemma. He gave dignity to their frustration. For theirs was the individualist's dilemma, and for them the idea of integrity involved the idea of withdrawal; environment, to them, defeated the artist, as participation corrupted the thinker. Their dilemma, too, sprang from personal weakness no less than from social disorder. The "Education" gave to the 1920's, not the signal to fight but the leave to withdraw, by revealing how a better man had got waylaid and misplaced, had been passed up and slurred over and left to go unsung; for surely there is something in the tone of the "Education" that suggests, as not the least of the nineteenth century's blunders, its failure to recognize the worth of Henry Adams. On its lowest level, there

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their lowest level, there was an immense amount of self-pity in the futilitarians of the twenties. Deep called unto deep.

But at another level there was something in the "Education" to make it one of the justly pivotal books of its era. It may express futility, but its tone is not wholly negative; there is something affirmative in it. And what it affirms is a toughness of mind, a quality of searching, weighing, testing, of coming to clear-eyed conclusions about the nature of things. Above all, it sets forth a mind and morality that spurned the optimistic and opportunistic formulas, from Emerson's down, that had made of American life such a shallow, shifty, spurious thing. At least the *idea* of education which Adams, solitary and recusant, imposed upon himself, was an exemplary idea. What Adams signifies at his best is unadulterated and grown-up thinking. This was something that his pupils of the twenties, groping backward in American letters—stumbling over the confusions of the Transcendentalists, the rampant Americanism that mars the democratic fervor in Whitman—could not easily find elsewhere. No wonder, then, that they thought they had found more than they actually did.

For impressive as the "Education" is, and definitive as is its mood, it somehow is not profound. It befits very few of us to condescend to Adams on the score of his cultural background, his political knowledge, his cerebral weight; but the fact remains that it is not for his "discoveries," or his clarifications of the human struggle, that we can seek him out. Those celebrated later chapters of the "Education"—The Dynamo and the Virgin, A Dynamic Theory of History[1]—are superb intellectual exercises, but it is hard to believe that they offer a synthesis which is more than personally brilliant and picturesque. When Adams looked to the past, for example, it was originally in search of perspective. He set about contrasting twelfth-century "unity" with twentieth-century "multiplicity," and the contrast is striking. But to what end? He conceived the earlier age as the better one, but must have known that it was impossible to return to it. The structure of twelfth-century life has no application in ours; the old wheels went round from a social force that had become inoperative and spent. Yet, more and more in the manner of an escapist, Adams tried to go back; there came to be more than an esthete's interest in his medieval studies, in the long twilit mystic spell of Chartres. Coldly judged, does not one pamper one's maladjustment by pining for what one cannot have?

There was nothing shallow about Adams' inquiry into human culture, either in its feeling or its facts; but it failed to produce any profound philosophy of life, even a profound skepticism. Adams knew too much, he knew (or thought he [illegible]

were drifting, he had—too arrogantly—a disbelief that any good could come of it, ultimately to profit from his career of "education." The philosophy he did evolve is understandable enough, and one must grant that there was a basis in experience for it. But it comes to no more than the pessimism of one who sees the world being ruined, and the cynicism of one who gives up trying to reclaim it. And in Adams there was also an uglier cynicism, of sitting back and watching the world, with a not unmalign satisfaction, go to Hell. The motif of effort and education which carefully governs Adams' autobiography tends to obscure this uglier cynicism; but from a reading of the "Letters" one knows that it was there, and one sees how, after a time, the moralist in Adams gave up being in any sense a crusader and became a merely captious and querulous censor.

A crusader in the old Adams style Henry never was at any time. In John and John Quincy Adams there was little of Hamlet and much of Coeur-de-Lion; there was the impulse, scarcely questioned, to act. Henry never had that impulse. At the very outset of his career, he thought rather of being *induced* to enter politics—thought of his dignity as soon as his duty. The silver-platter method failed, and in a way Henry would have no other. It was not simply that he was as proud as he was ambitious, or as squeamish as he was moral; it was that for a lifelong career in opposition the work was too grubby, too dispiriting, too harsh, the odds against winning were too fantastically high. The reformer who would take on so forbidding a task needed to be something of a fanatic; and after all Henry Adams was from the beginning the most sensitive of intellectuals, the most cultivated of worldlings.

It would be absurd to imagine such a man becoming a John Brown, a William Lloyd Garrison, a Debs. But it would surely not be absurd to imagine such a man becoming a Matthew Arnold. Each was born in the shadow of a name outstanding for earnestness, each was by temperament the reverse of a democrat, and each grew up to find a place waiting for him in that world where society and intellect, art and politics, meet. There may have been a decisive difference in the fact that Arnold had a living to earn, and Adams did not. But Arnold was not self-indulgent and Adams was; so that Arnold became the embattled foe of what seemed to him the powers of darkness, and Adams merely their bitter and acidulous historian. (It only counts against Adams the more that he understood the issues in a far wider sense than Arnold understood them.) There was something in Adams which, though it might have borne the arduousness of high public office, balked at the indignities of Arnold's private campaigning. By Adams' strongly developed eighteenth-century standards of worldliness, Arnold was doubtless a little plodding, a little ridiculous. He called Arnold the [illegible]

LICENSED TO UNT.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ties that largely ruined Adams; that turned him into a man who thought one way and lived another.

For he lived, during many years, in elegant and patrician retirement, choosing for his intimates the Hays, Cabot Lodges, Theodore Roosevelts for whom morally he had no respect; traveling *en prince;* entertaining *en connaisseur;* parading in his letters a calculated snobbery that sneered at Stevenson's indigent bohemianism, that instantly seized on Kipling's social second-rateness, that inveighed half to the point of mania against the Jews. He said of himself that he "should have been a Marxist," and knew, overwhelmingly, that he could never have been one. The whole story is told, I think, by Adams' reactions to English upper-class life. With his mind he saw all too well its hypocrisy, insularity, complacence; but temperamentally the sweetest air he ever breathed was that of London dinner-parties and English country houses.

The present moment is not congenial, and not disposed to be fair, to the "Education." The book compels respect for a sense of weight behind, not in, it. It suggests tragedy; but it is not—at least on the terms it set out to be—tragic, because the author chose the less costly form of defeat, and the less noble. Impotence, to Adams, was preferable to mutilation. Psychologically—by which I mean that were Henry Adams the problem of a novelist—his life followed a convincing pattern. But in real life, an ultimate failure of character is not to be excused by being explained; nor does a lifetime of self-analysis compensate for a failure to see things through morally. If a crude capitalist era "crushed" Adams, it was as much from being enervated by the fruits of it as from being poisoned by its roots. Was Adams willing—was he ever willing—to lose just part of the world to gain his own soul? It is just possible to say Yes; but if so, Adams' reason was purely pride.

However great the merits of the "Education," its "method" can already be seen to have failed. Culture and education are of the highest importance—according to some philosophies, the very end of living. But for Henry Adams they were clearly intended to be a means, carrying him forward to a better understanding and fulfilment of his obligations. Instead, they produced in him the indecision of a Hamlet; they became a kind of luxury, a kind of solace, and a kind of escape. It may be that Adams has taught us more in autobiography than he could have in action. It is at least certain that he has warned us more unforgettably. For it is not from confusing the mind by overloading it; it is not from dissent without protest, or opposition without strife, or humanism without humanity, that the beleaguered intellectual can save himself, or that the world he views with horror can be saved.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER

The Driven People

In France

THE 400,000 SPANIARDS, including about 150,000 women and children, who crossed into France between January 27, when Barcelona was evacuated, and the final collapse of Republican Catalonia, are now suffering an ordeal almost as grueling as the bombing, machine-gunning and starvation from which they fled. In the concentration camps where they are kept under military guard by the French authorities, they are underfed, forced to spend nights in holes in the ground or under the open sky, and harried night and day by a barrage of Franco propaganda from loud-speaker automobiles. They are told of the joys of life in Franco Spain, and urged to return there immediately. About 50,000 of them have already crossed back into Franco territory.

The French policy seems to be to make things so hard for them that they will be glad to go. The camps at Argeles (where the International Brigade volunteers [illegible] Perpignan [illegible] of Deputies investigation group which visited the Pyrenees testified in the Chamber on February 15: ". . . We have seen the Senegalese prod the Spanish soldiers with the points of their sabers to keep them moving . . . we have seen the guards selling watches, bracelets and jewelry which had belonged to the Spaniards."

In one camp one doctor is "caring for" 400 wounded Republican soldiers. Wounds are not dressed and gangrene has set in in many cases. On several occasions the refugees have been fed donkey meat of such a quality that everyone got sick. There is little milk for babies. Women with children are sleeping on the beaches and fields without any sort of covering. The refugees are not permitted to leave their camps. In many places they are vermin-eaten, and have no opportunity to wash themselves clean. When they are taken from place to place they are convoyed by Mobile Guards, or by Negro troops with fixed bayonets. In one place the men were separated from their families; it took cavalry to do it.

It is reported that the loud-speaker automobiles are furnished to the Franco agents by the French authori-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ever, more effective than the propagandists in urging the refugees to agree to go to Hendaye, and thence to Franco Spain.

On February 14, the French government sent Colonel Besson to the Pyrenees region to improve conditions in the concentration camps, which were beginning to be reported in the French press. The Colonel has made it difficult or impossible for anyone to get to the camps to see the conditions. What else he has done is not yet known. If he succeeds in getting most of the refugees back to Spain, his superiors will very likely not be too inquisitive as to the methods used.

Even the non-Spaniards, ex-members of the International Brigade, are held under military guard, and are not permitted to see relatives who have come from all over Europe to help them. A captain of the Mobile Guards bodily attacked one of the members of the Chamber group, and then, finding out who it was he had struck, excused himself saying, "Pardon me, I thought you were a Spaniard."

When they decide to return, the refugees' troubles are by no means ended. The convoys are often several days in going from Perpignan to Hendaye. Often they must carry their possessions, and spend the nights on the road. They are crowded intolerably on trains. Sick and weary, they arrive finally at the international bridge, where they must wait hours, sometimes days, for the Rebel authorities to go through the formalities of identification and registration.

On crossing the bridge they come under the jurisdiction of the new Franco political criminal code which was published February 13, and provides confiscation of property and a sentence up to fifteen years in prison or exile for all who "contributed in any way to the Red victimization of Spain during thirty months." This obviously can be made to include almost everyone who was resident in Republican Spain during any part of the war.[1]

Perpignan JOHN STEVENS

In Spain

FRANCO'S MACHINERY OF "JUSTICE" is already under way in Barcelona. One reads in The London Times the naïve statement that "the British government are doing what they can to prevent needless slaughter and suffering—in putting in a word to the advancing troops, for example." If the case were not so tragic one would be tempted to laugh at this innocence. Certainly the "putting in a word" to advancing troops does not seem to have stopped the bombing and machine-gunning of helpless men, women and children on the roads or the killing of seven hundred or so of them in one single tragic bombing at Figueras. And one may have some misgivings as to whether "putting in a word" may be supposed to have any effect on men who committed those horrible bombardments of March 16 and 17, 1938 (of which those who turn to The London Times of those days may read my reports); who deliberately and wantonly (as an official commission has reported), strewed death along one of Barcelona's principal boulevards on New Year's Eve so that—as witnesses have described it to me—bits of bodies hung in the trees; who have bombed multitudes of undefended towns and villages, as one may read in the record of the official British commission on bombardments in Spain.

What is completely misunderstood outside Spain on the part of those who give such amazing reassurances is the feudal mind of the Spanish military man, his grotesquely inflated pride, inherited from monarchical days when the military man was almost as sacred and divine in his right as the sovereign himself. The cruelly vindictive character of that same mind knows no counterpart in the West in this twentieth century. This Spanish military bund will not only have its pound of flesh but its hundredweight. There is neither humanity, mercy nor justice in the treatment that Franco and the military clique that trails with him, and the traditionally cruel Civil Guard, still smarting from the sting of their suppression by the Republic for treachery, are prepared to mete out to those who have fallen into their hands.

It was the Civil Guard that was responsible for the death of Spain's greatest poet, García Lorca, because he unmercifully held a true mirror of them up to the public gaze. When, to this mental attitude of the army and the Civil Guard, is added the fact that they consider themselves crusaders charged with the mission of "expiating," through the persons of others, the "crimes" against the Church, the danger of reprisals at their hands infinitely increases. In Puebla de Valverde, in the early days of the war, I was able to investigate on the ground how this kind of "atonement" worked out. The Civil Guard officers turned against the Republican militiamen over whom they had been given command, suddenly opening fire on them as they sat about eating. Thereafter more than sixty of them were marched to the local cemetery, placed with backs to the wall and shot down "in expiation of the crime" of having burned the town's church. A vicarious expiation, I may add, since the town's church had been burned by others before their arrival. Witnesses pointed out to me the blood-soaked ground and the new mounds of earth. This is the type of vindictiveness that confronts those who are now at the mercy of General Franco's armed forces.

Franco is said to be prepared to grant an amnesty for "minor misdemeanors." But further reports direct from Barcelona give an id[illegible]

[1] A few of the 50,000 repatriated refugees who escaped from their Franco concentration camps and fled their country a second time tell of the wholesale reprisals confisc[illegible]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

conqueror. For in reading of the trial of Eduardo Barriobero, president of the Oficina Juridica of the Republican government, one learns that he is accused of having shouldered a rifle for three days "like a vulgar *militiaman*" and that he took part in the assault on the Montaña barracks. One reads further that he was present at the burning of convents, that he had mobilized forces and broadcast speeches exhorting the people to resist Franco. This man, then, is worthy of death because he honorably defended the constitutional government and resisted traitorous officers. There are probably a million persons in Barcelona who were present at the burning of some convent or church. Are all these to be placed on trial for their lives? An additional charge is made against this man which must also be stated to have the record complete, namely, that he sent prisoners to their doom via a "cheka." This serious charge is something to be considered quite apart from the other allegations. This former judge hardly acts like a guilty man. "I could have fled but I preferred to remain here," he says in court. Another curious detail: "The Tribunal's defense lawyer, Señor Valverde," we read in The London Telegraph, "is a monarchist who lived in Barcelona under the Republican regime, first hiding but later himself participating in the People's Tribunal." This detail carries with it its own commentary on the character of the People's Tribunals.

Those familiar with the trial and execution of Professor Leopold Alas, rector of Oviedo University, for the high crime of entertaining liberal and Republican sentiments, and of having under the Republican regime criticized the Civil Guard and the Church, do not of course wonder at the charges which in the foregoing case qualify as a capital offense: loyalty to the legally constituted government. The Franco record is replete with many other such cases, like the shooting of Basque priests, of liberal secular priests, of the Catholic Catalan leader, Carrasco Formigueras, captured while en route to Bilbao from Barcelona as the Catalan delegate to the Basque government. At best he was a prisoner of war who had borne no arms. They who shot him—and many another—now herald their horror that allegedly the Republican government killed prisoners, if indeed that charge can be demonstrated.

It is not on record that Franco has made the least effort to bring to justice any of those among his followers who have been responsible for the wanton taking of life on a scale infinitely greater than occurred during mob days in Loyalist territory. By any standard of civilized law he and his tribunals have no claim to sit in judgment on the guilt of others. By *force majeure* he may be able to get away with it. But that any sectors of men with respect for the law and its sanctity should uphold this procedure seems incredible.

I wish that those who so tranquilly believe that "all's [illegible] of "justice" could have during anxious war months came to me asking whether I could not do something for them if worst came to worst and they incurred danger of falling into Franco's hands. Unfortunately the best I can do is to contribute my humble share toward calling public attention outside Spain to the real state of affairs. These men knew what they would have to face. As one of them said: "*Conozco mi gente*," meaning "I know my men," that is, the type of men with whom he would have to deal.

An outward pretense will be made of applying the law—not the law of the land but the extra-legal code of the conquerors. However, what probable victims fear most of all are tortures and "liquidations," such as the application of the "ley de fugas," or "law of flight," that device popular in monarchical days but abolished by the Republic, whereby prisoners were shot in the back on the pretext that they were fleeing.

If I could here relate the stories of suffering and of wanton murder told me by the victims, little doubt would be left as to why they flee. Badajoz is no myth, nor is Guernica. Nor are the hundreds of other tragic scenes in Franco's Spain, the stories of which have not yet been told. I have spoken to inmates of prisons from which went nightly batches of the doomed. I have seen the fleeing and martyred hordes that in Republican Spain were machine-gunned and bombed even before this exodus began. I have heard the stories of those whose relatives were killed when, in earlier days, they came from places of hiding believing in Franco's guarantees as to their safety. What a mockery those guarantees seemed as a day or two later they faced firing squads. I have talked to men whose women have been violated and murdered; to surviving Protestants whose brethren were martyred for their faith. I have been in the midst of almost countless bombardments at Valencia, Barcelona and elsewhere. These things are not propaganda. They are facts. The memory of them remains in the minds of those who have fled from them.

Those who do not know the Spanish masses cannot appreciate their intense love of liberty. There is nothing like it among the people of any country I know—not even among the people of England or America or France. It is an inextinguishable something inherited from their nomadic ancestors, Visigoths and Arabs. It explains why under cruelest repressions of past centuries your humble Spanish workman has never been bludgeoned into submission. Perhaps at a future date it will also explain why even this newest attempt at repressing him will have failed. In the meantime he says and feels: "I cannot live without liberty!" How many a one has spoken such words to me in these war years! That is also why they flee. And why they fear to go back to live under Franco.

LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Teachers' Struggle for Democracy

RECENTLY the American Federation of Teachers has been subjected to the attack of a miscellaneous assortment of sharpshooters stretching from the Dies committee all the way to John L. Childs of Teachers' College, Columbia University. As president of the American Federation of Teachers for the past three years, I can say with complete assurance that the charges of "communist control" are untrue. The Dies committee, for instance, made its charges without the slightest corroborative evidence, and no opportunity was given the Federation to reply. In so far as New York locals have been cited, similar charges have been disproved in the past.

The keynote of the last convention of the American Federation of Teachers was unity. The Federation has been growing with lightning speed. Yet while I have been in office no question of communism has even been raised at any national convention. In a day when the President of the United States is called "communist," perhaps it is inevitable that such wild accusations should be made. No doubt any organization that stands for democracy in education and education for democracy is bound to have opposition.

Actually, the Federation is a progressive, active organization with an enrolment of some 35,000 teachers throughout the nation. It did not spring into life from the brain of some learned savant; it grew spontaneously from the soil of American culture. In 1902 the teachers of San Antonio, Texas, for instance, decided that they needed the support of labor to be effective. They tried the experiment of affiliating with the American Federation of Labor and found it worked. With the support of the organized workers, education was improved. Later the teachers of Chicago found that the public-service corporations were evading taxes. Without the support of outside groups the teachers were helpless to make these giant corporations pay. Once affiliated with organized labor they forced the corporations to pay six hundred thousand dollars additional in taxes, and every cent of this money went into the educational budget.

From 1902 to 1916 twenty different teachers' organizations in ten separate states had found out independently that it paid educational dividends to affiliate with organized labor. The result was that in 1916 the American Federation was born, with members from Chicago, Gary, New York City, Oklahoma, Scranton and Washington, D. C.

The organization had a relatively slow growth. It took until June, 1919, to form the first hundred locals, and until October, 1927, for the second hundred; even in 1934 there were less than 10,000 members. But from that time on the growth has be

largest local in the world, with 8,500 members. Payless pay days and subsequent political interference contributed to this happy result. All the leading universities have locals, including Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Chicago and Wisconsin. Some of the greatest scientists are members—such men as Albert Einstein and Dr. Franz Boas. The New York College Teachers' Union now has a membership of one thousand and is the largest college local in the world.

Behind our principles and our program the AF of T stands united against any attacks. Ever since its inception the major emphasis has been on educational democracy—equal opportunity for all. To meet the needs of children in impoverished states, in rural areas, as well as to promote adult education and better library facilities, it is championing a bill for federal aid to education. The President of the United States has signified his support of the measure. Professor Reeves, the chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Education, is a member of our organization. Prospects are good that the proposal will become law.

The Federation believes that the processes of education should be so related to life that children will be trained to cope with the problems of modern civilization. Many school systems are in reality autocracies administered after the pattern of a military machine. At the top is the superintendent who through a staff of subordinates gives orders which must be obeyed without question. Against this the Federation struggles to see that teachers play a real part in formulating and carrying out important educational policies. School children should be allowed to attain the optimum of self-government. Boards of education should be elected and on all vital policies the teachers should have a voice.

The AF of T cannot champion democracy in education unless it tries to function democratically itself. This means that it guarantees to every member freedom, regardless of race, religion or political belief. Sometimes charges are made that a local within the Federation has communist members. The Federation has long taken the position that it does not interfere in the private political attitudes or activities of its members. It believes in the American principle that every teacher has the right to be a Republican, Democrat, Socialist, Communist, or support any other party. Charges that some factions within locals of the Federation have done damaging things have usually evaporated when we have asked for evidence.

The Federation is trying hard to raise the standards of the teaching profession. Every child in America should have the opportunity of studying

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should be appointed and promoted solely on the basis of merit. The Federation's locals have used every means at their disposal, including costly law suits, to protect the merit system. Higher standards include freedom from financial strain, adequate salaries for leisure, for recreation and professional improvement.

The AF of T stands for academic freedom, for the right of every child to have teachers who are free to discuss without fear or favor the important issues in modern life. The National Academic Freedom Committee of the Federation handles numerous cases annually, winning the reinstatement of many who are discharged. It always stands ready to coöperate with other agencies such as the National Education Association, the National Advisory Council on Educational Freedom, the National Lawyers' Guild, the Progressive Education Association and the American Association of University Professors.

The AF of T believes in organized labor. Some outsiders like Dean Russell of Teachers' College, Columbia University, charge that affiliation with organized labor is inimical to the highest interests of education. In actual practice, on the contrary, the danger of the average teacher is that he or she will be isolated from the social and economic life of the community and unconsciously accept a middle-class outlook. In reality affiliation with organized labor helps to make the teacher fairer and more realistic. Instead of being biased in favor of upper and middle-class ideology, the teacher who belongs to the AF of L tends to be familiar with a cross-section of all the community.

It must not be thought that organized labor can dictate to us. On the contrary, the Federation is completely independent and autonomous. Affiliation merely gives the teachers representation in the local trades council, the State Federation of Labor and in the national convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The real test of any organization is what it does. The record of the locals of the AF of T shows that in every community where there is one, tenure is more secure, salaries are higher, retirement provisions are more adequate. In short, the entire educational work of the community has been improved. In a certain Western city the teachers were paid only $14 a week and had classes of from forty to fifty pupils each. They were organized and affiliated with the State Teachers' Association, but it refused to take action. The teachers got little sympathy from the board of education, controlled by business men. The board said that the teachers lived at home and therefore needed no more compensation. With the formation of a local of the AF of T, organized labor became interested. Within six months the teachers' salaries had been increased and the size of their classes decreased. Savannah, Georgia, in 1922 had a Teachers' Union through the elective board on which members of the Teachers' Union are represented. The initiative of the New York College Teachers' Union led to the democratization of the city colleges by the Board of Higher Education.

In Springfield, Ohio, in 1936, because of the bitter opposition of real-estate and business groups, the school levy was defeated and the board of education closed the schools in November. Springfield was known as "the city where prosperity begins." The result of the closing of the schools was the falling off of Christmas shopping. Nearly four hundred teachers were unemployed and seeking other work. Real-estate values were threatened. Under the leadership of the AF of T the public was so aroused that a special election was called and the levy passed by a vote of two to one. This city has learned that it is not only an obligation to the children to keep the schools open, but that it is disastrous to the financial prosperity of the community to close them.

In Atlanta, Georgia, the AF of T has in its membership more than 90 percent of all the teachers. As a consequence, the educational situation and the salaries are among the best in the entire South. But even where the Federation has not organized the majority it has proved effective. For instance, union teachers in Pennsylvania represent only a little more than one percent of the public-school teachers of the state, but, with the support of organized labor, they were able in 1937 to enact the best tenure law ever passed in this country.

Although the Federation has achieved great triumphs, much remains to be done. The position of the teacher is far lower than it used to be. When he is unorganized his status in the community is almost that of a hired hand. To be sure, he still prides himself on his high professional role, but, on the average, compensation is unbelievably low. In three states the average wage, even including the salaries of supervisors and principals, is $600 a year.

Americans are fond of boasting about equality of educational opportunity, yet more than 3,300,000 children between five and seventeen years of age are not enrolled in any school. More than 2,000,000 physically handicapped children are receiving no education adapted to their needs. In some states we find blighted areas where many children receive no schooling: in Vermont, Oregon and Rhode Island, 24 percent of the children are not in school; in Alabama, more than 40 percent.

Many rural children suffer from what might be termed mental starvation. For example, even in such a relatively advanced state as Pennsylvania the average rural child has only 155 days in school, while the city child has 196. In Georgia, the typical rural youngster is in school only 123 days a year. In Wisconsin 55,000 children get less than 90 days of schooling. Rural areas cannot afford to pay high enough wages to assure adequately trained teachers. Salaries are as low as $450 per year, and even lower. Alabama, Mississippi and Arkan-

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whereas New York, Nevada and California spend $115. How can we build a genuine democracy with equality for all under such conditions? These are some of the facts that compel us to promote federal aid to education with all the power at our command.

Just as dangerous as lack of money is lack of proper content of education. Few schools either explain or defend democracy. As a result, children think that mere words and paper constitutions are enough. In the South they tend to accept the Ku Klux Klan, in the North the American Liberty League, and in all states the Dies committee—since all of these carry the rhetoric of Americanism—"freedom," "individualism" and "liberty." The Federation stands for the teaching of the inner essence of democracy, not alone its external forms.

The Federation is fighting the battle of democracy for all the people. If we were to examine the curve of democracy in the United States we would probably find that the high point was reached in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Since then, with the industrialization and pauperization of urban workers, the decrease of the freehold farmer and the growing power of the corporation, actual democracy has been declining, at least until the advent of the Roosevelt administration. If we are to safeguard democracy, we must see to it that the schools are free, that every child has an equal right to educational opportunities. The American Federation of Teachers is democracy in action on the educational front.

JEROME DAVIS

Mr. Jamieson Makes a Sale

I WAS GLAD when Mr. Jamieson the undertaker came, because at least he would do some talking. We had been sitting in the front room for more than an hour and I could not get anyone to talk, except for a yes or a no. My grandfather had died at the hospital early in the morning and my grandmother, who had stopped crying softly to herself by now, still wouldn't say very much. Neither would my mother. My uncle just chewed on his cigar and hunched forward in his chair. I kept thinking of my grandfather and his white hands with their puffed blue veins. I could still see the sticky pink rings around the inside of his eyes and the helpless way his eyes rolled when anybody stopped by his bed. When I didn't think of all this, I thought of Harrison and Peavy at the office, wondering if they had eaten spaghetti at Joe's Place this noon, as usual. I wished I had a morning paper.

When Mr. Jamieson came it was good to see him smile. He was a round-faced jolly man and he handed me his briefcase to hold for him while he bustled off with his coat.

"What do you think of that briefcase for five dollars?" he asked me, real sharp.

"*Okay?* Listen—" He walked over to my uncle with it. "If you know anything about *leather*, then you'll know it's a real bargain for five dollars."

My uncle let his cigar hang down from the middle of his lips and he rubbed his fingers over the briefcase. "That's a dandy," he said.

But Mr. Jamieson still was not satisfied. He carried it over to my mother. "It's the woman's opinion that counts," he said. "You can't fool a woman on leather."

My mother looked the briefcase over slowly. "It's very good," she said, "although such a light color won't be so serviceable."

Mr. Jamieson wheeled on my uncle and me. "What did I tell you? *Sh-ar-shay la femme*, which means look to the woman. In French."

My uncle smiled a little and I grinned because there seemed to be no stopping Mr. Jamieson's enthusiasm about the briefcase. Then he sat down beside my grandmother who had stopped breathing fast through her teeth, and swallowing all the time. She was sitting, looking around, steady. Mr. Jamieson put his arm around her and said:

"Now mother—it's all *right* to call you mother isn't it?"

My grandmother nodded her head. "Oh, yes. Goodness. . . ."

"Well I just like to be sure," Mr. Jamieson said, "because sometimes these grandmothers are steppers and don't like to be called mother." He turned to my mother and my uncle. "How about that?"

My uncle reached for a match and said that that was right. My mother smiled and said, "Mother is a stepper until about nine o'clock and that's all."

Mr. Jamieson laughed and said nine o'clock was the greatest bedtime hour of them all and my grandmother gave him a pleased look. Then, quickly, Mr. Jamieson reached into his briefcase and brought out a large, shiny catalogue. "Now, if everybody will gather around mother and me, here, we'll take a peek at some of the prettiest caskets you have ever seen."

My uncle leaned forward, but I stood up and pulled my chair over beside them. My mother did too, and then my uncle walked around so he could look down, over Mr. Jamieson's shoulder. When my grandmother looked at the catalogue, she looked away quickly for a minute. Then she looked back and I saw that everything was all right, after all. Mr. Jamieson patted her on the knee and she even smiled a little at him.

"Mother," he said, "if you've ever had many satin dresses—and you probably have, haven't you?"

My grandmother nodded and waited attentively for him to go on.

"Then," said Mr. Jamieson, triumphantly, "you'll certainly appreciate the way these new caskets are lined. Now take this one, this first one here. . . ."

We'll

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the casket which we would not have known about without his explanations. When he had finished, my grandmother was the first one to speak. She said, "Caskets are certainly different nowadays. When my sister—"

"Caskets are *beautiful* nowadays," Mr. Jamieson said. "I would rather admire them than automobiles."

Then he hurried on to tell us all the things that had been done to make caskets so much better than they had been, and we all listened with interest.

Next he explained about buying a burial plot and told us that it was much better to buy four or six than just one, so that you could have a regular family burying place. He said that he would take care of that for us.

"And then in the summer," he said to my grandmother, "it will be nice to drive out to the cemetery and walk around there. You'll certainly enjoy all the plants and flowers they have there."

My grandmother nodded hard.

"About the funeral," Mr. Jamieson said, "have you decided when it's to be?"

"I think probably Wednesday," my grandmother said, and her voice was nice and steady and she looked straight at him when she said it, too.

When Mr. Jamieson left, my mother and my grandmother began to talk about caskets and the satin linings. I nudged my uncle.

"I have about six fingers of scotch in the pantry," I said, "and a bottle of sparkling water."

"Say," my uncle said, "that would go good, a drink."

"I'll fix up a couple," I said.

As I walked toward the kitchen, my grandmother said: "My goodness, I just remembered that I never fed the goldfish this morning!"

"Why should you," my uncle said. "Who did the goldfish ever feed?" They were all laughing then, and I heard my grandmother's skirts swish busily as she walked to the goldfish bowl. When I turned and looked she was dropping a pinch of fish food into the water and she said, "There you are, I didn't forget." Then she peered down at the bowl, all engrossed in seeing the goldfish snap at the food particles. Right then she looked almost the way she looked on any other day.

DUANE DECKER

M-Day's Child Is Fair of Face

M-day's child is fair of face,
Drill-day's child is full of grace,
Gun-day's child is breastless and blind,
Shell-day's child is out of its mind,
Bomb-day's child will always be dumb,
Cannon-day's child can never quite come,
but the child that's born on the Battle-day
is blithe and bonny and rotted away.

Washington Notes

My Dear Bill and John

MR. ROOSEVELT'S COMMAND—or if you wish, entreaty—that the AF of L make peace is a perplexing affair. Since negotiations between the two labor groups collapsed fourteen months ago, nothing has happened to make peace more likely. The principal event has been Mr. Green's cautious support of Mr. Homer Martin in the civil war within the auto workers' union. Mr. Green's intervention has had little practical effect, perhaps, but it hasn't increased the CIO's love for the AF of L executive council.

The peace offer is perplexing chiefly for the reason that, of the three groups concerned—the administration, the AF of L and the CIO—only the CIO is a known quantity. The CIO is Mr. John L. Lewis, and vice versa. Mr. Lewis' feeling about the labor movement's future hasn't changed since the days of the NRA Labor Board; there is no doubt about where he stands and what he believes. But which Mr. Roosevelt do we behold here? The pro-labor Mr. Roosevelt of the 1936 campaign, in whom business was supposed to have found its master? Or the current Mr. Roosevelt, the business man's friend? And what about Mr. Green? Is he still front-man for Messrs. Hutcheson, Frey and Wharton or, since the AF of L's last council meeting in Florida, has he jumped to the AF of L peace bloc?

One way to describe the basic cleavage between the AF of L and CIO is in terms of personalities. Should peace come, and the labor movement be reunited, who would be top man? Mr. Lewis? The Green-Hutcheson-Frey-Wharton junta? Or a compromise candidate—for example, Mr. George McG. Harrison? For some months, Mr. Harrison has been at least willing to assume the burdens of leading a reunited labor movement. To describe the AF of L-CIO cleavage as a struggle for personal power is a gross oversimplification. But it has validity when the leaders, or groups of leaders, are looked upon as the symbols of clashing labor philosophies. Suppose we take a specific issue, the place of political radicals in the labor movement. Demonstrably, radicals make great labor organizers. They will work like men possessed for little or no pay, and cheerfully risk beatings-up and even death from strikebreakers, labor guards and police. Under Mr. Lewis, radicals have performed prodigious feats of organizing for the CIO. With Mr. Lewis at the head of a reunited labor body, presumably they would be permitted to continue. Under the Green-Hutcheson-Frey-Wharton junta, they would be rooted out of the movement. What would happen to them under Mr. Harrison, no one knows.

The three AF of L negotiators are men of peace. Mr. Green could not have picked three men who would listen more sympathetically to the CIO's demands. Mr. Thomas A. Rickert, who takes the place of Mr. Tobin on the AF of L committee, is head of a union, the United Garment Workers, that is theoretically at war with Mr. Sidney Hillman's Amalgamated. However, the AF of L garment-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ranks. The photo-engravers' union of Mr. Woll, on the other hand, is wholly outside the CIO's present scope. Mr. Woll's Union Labor Life Insurance Company, which now absorbs much of his energies, deals with CIO members. The third negotiator, Mr. Harry C. Bates of the bricklayers' union, has been closely associated with the administration's housing agencies, and is politically a New Dealer. He is believed to have no excessive friendliness for his associate in the AF of L Building Trades Department, Mr. Hutcheson of the carpenters' union, who in 1936 campaigned for Governor Landon.

Why did Mr. Green choose a committee with so much apparent good will for Mr. Lewis and the CIO? One suggestion is that Mr. Green has become alarmed by rumblings of revolt among the smaller AF of L unions, painfully audible at the Florida executive-council meeting, and—as mentioned earlier—is hopping nimbly to the side of peace. Another suggestion is that he may be engaged in a maneuver to protect the die-hard Hutcheson-Frey-Wharton clique. If the AF of L peacemakers mean to come to terms with the CIO, they must inevitably offer concessions. Then they can be held up as traitors, men who would, in Mr. Green's words, "compromise the structure of the American Federation of Labor."

The final mystery is why Mr. Roosevelt should have picked the present moment to try to force peace. It is true, as the Labor Department hastened to divulge, that private conversations among AF of L and CIO leaders have taken place in recent weeks. For that matter, private talks have gone on almost continuously since the original split two and a half years ago. But, contrary to the impression the administration sought to give, no progress towards peace has been achieved. The conclusion seems inescapable that the timing of Mr. Roosevelt's letters to Messrs. Green and Lewis was related chiefly to Mr. Hopkins' campaign to appease business. The letters were a signal to business that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hopkins were earnestly trying to promote recovery.

If Mr. Roosevelt had been concerned about organized labor, rather than business, he would have waited until the big AF of L unions—enough of them to give a majority in an AF of L convention—had shown signs of yielding, or, alternately, until Mr. Lewis had shifted his position. This Mr. Roosevelt did not do. At least some observers have been driven to wonder whether, in the case the peace talks fail, Mr. Roosevelt will not consider that his obligations to Mr. Lewis and the CIO—among them a $500,000 contribution to his 1936 campaign—have been liquidated. They fear he will say that he has tried to work with Mr. Lewis, but that Mr. Lewis has shown himself unreasonable and arbitrary. Meantime, the one concrete result of Mr. Roosevelt's letters has been altogether helpful. They have given Senator Thomas a solid excuse for postponing hearings on changes in the NLRA.

As these Notes are written, the administration apparently means to drop the Guam fortifications with an excuse-it-please. But the episode ought not be forgotten. As was explained by this department at the time, and afterwards confirmed, the original Hepburn report, recommending the fortification of Guam, was not approved by the State Department and was [illegible] his advisers. It found its way into the newspapers apparently by accident. For four full days thereafter, only confused and mysterious hints came from the White House. Then two directly conflicting explanations were made. One was that the Guam fortifications were intended as a bargaining counter in possible future negotiations with Japan; the other was that the fortifications were not fortifications at all, but peaceful harbor improvements. Suspicious and bewildered, the House voted the Guam appropriation down. If Mr. Roosevelt and the heads of his chief departments cannot act with greater coördination, efficiency and imagination than were shown in this and many other instances, it will make no difference what their foreign policy is. We will become ridiculous rather than feared.

Washington T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Interest Rates and Money Pools

THERE IS A QUARREL in Washington between the FHA and the HOLC—to be identified presently—over that age-old subject of interest. The FHA is the agency which guarantees mortgage loans made by banks and other agencies. The HOLC—Home Owners' Loan Corporation—is the agency which redeemed some billions of bad mortgages and bailed out the holders of several billions of more or less poor mortgage paper. The FHA has been using its power to hold interest rates on mortgages down to five percent. The private lenders and building-and-loan associations are opposed to this five-percent rate. They want more, and apparently the HOLC is supporting them in this.

It would be difficult to imagine anything worse than to drive the FHA from its position on this point. Interest rates are, presumably, determined by the extent of risk in a loan. People are willing to lend to the government on long-term bonds for three percent and even less on shorter-term paper —as low as one and one-half percent. The only excuse for six-percent money is the extent of the risk in the loan. The FHA guarantees loans made by recognized institutions, thus taking an immense element of risk out of the loan. There then remains no reason under heaven why the same old rate of six percent should be charged as was demanded before these guarantees were given.

But there is a very practical social reason for keeping down this rate. The building industry is in a state of practical collapse because of the large costs involved in materials, labor and financing. Anything that will add to the present prohibitive cost of building will be a crime against recovery.

The tendency of modern finance-capitalism to create pools of funds or credit under the domination of powerful financial groups is one of those drifts which seems to defy every form of resistance. Always the banks and insurance companies have been the chief pools of funds thus controlled. But now this is becoming true of the banks in a different way and it is also becoming true of large corporations with large cash accumulations of all kinds. So that there is a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

panies and finance companies to become investment trusts.

The banks have moved into this more and more since they have, almost perforce, abandoned the business of lending money and gone into direct investment. I have from time to time listed banks whose cash and investment portfolio has totaled more than 100 percent of the banks' deposit totals. For this reason, therefore, the SEC has now found it necessary to take steps to limit the power of banks to control industry through investment in holding companies.

Banks have, in one way or another, through the default of loans and through direct investment, acquired large blocks of stocks of utility and other holding companies. It is well known that one does not have to have a majority of the stock of a corporation to control it. And so a bank with 10 percent of the stock of a holding company is, for all practical purposes, able to dominate such holding company. Now many banks are doing directly what they once did through affiliates.

To put an end to this, or at least to check it as far as possible, the vigilant SEC has adopted a series of rules which will obstruct the promoters and exploiters who act through banks. The SEC has forbidden a bank holding over 10 percent of the stock of a holding company to vote such stock at the election of directors or upon any other matter of the public-utility holding company unless it is the subject matter of a declaration or application filed with the Commission.

A bank that owns 10 percent of the stock of a utility holding company cannot accept deposits from such holding company or make new loans or renew old loans to it.

Unfortunately the SEC can reach the banks only in so far as they attempt to exploit utility holding companies. It would be well if some means could be found to prevent banks from using their funds to control any form of industry. The sooner banks settle down to the job of being banks and nothing else, the better off the banks and business will be.

A visit to Washington is a very depressing experience these days. One finds there the most pervasive frustration on all hands. A feeling of futility has settled on the Democratic majority. While the Republican minority is buoyed up by the embarrassments of their ancient foes and their own recent gains, they are far from being as happy about all this as they pretend. It is obvious that the Democrats have no further program. There remain some odds and ends, such as health insurance and the reorganization bill, about which they are far from being a unit. But they have no plans for recovery. And they have no faith that recovery is coming. Probably the next phenomenon will be the flight of the warriors. The time for going is getting good and the coming year will see the faithful packing up their weapons and going home to greener fields. But the Republicans, while scenting possible victory, do not feel by any means joyous over the outlook of taking up the burden of either reform or recovery. They have talked about balancing the budget and they realize that if they win next year they will be called on to do this and they have a sneaking apprehension that it may be more difficult to do than now. The war hysteria has cut across both parties and added to the general confusion. And even the war party is beginning to feel that the war scare has been exploited about as far as possible ing some as yet undisclosed enemy in the Caribbean, is expected to throw some more fuel upon the war fires, but while his opponents are afraid of the consequences, his supporters too are fearful that a backfire on this may be due. There is one word for Washington now—bewilderment.

JOHN T. FLYNN

The Phaidon Press El Greco

IN "THE ART OF ANCIENT EGYPT," two years ago, the Phaidon Press succeeded in making what was a sheer matter of arrangement count, and importantly at that, as criticism. It had been only a few generations since Egyptian art had been taken as at best a modest forerunner of the all-perfect Greek. It was thought, too, that the beginnings of this art were to be sought among the pyramid-builders of Ghiza; so that even after the bursts of admiration had spread into a steady glow, there was great astonishment that such perfection should arise at the very outset. We know better now, of course; the long procession of art during three thousand years is in fact almost the first lesson in the Egyptian subject. The Phaidon volume gave this lesson in criticism a convincing form and pressure by leaving out mere archeological interests and showing only what in the modern view is beautiful, and showing it in the order of the advancing epochs and dynasties.

The new volume on El Greco[1] achieves something of the same result, and in a regard that is highly important to students and lovers of El Greco. For not everyone, with whatever emphasis of passionate love or of studious application he may approach the matter, knows the line of El Greco in his development, or knows the changes in his technical manner and in his design as his mind and spirit changed and as these, the design and the technique—to borrow from elsewhere Francis Thompson's words—followed, after. Not everybody, speaking of El Greco, knows distinctly of that Cretan background, a colony of Venice with the Turks near at hand, the natural recourse of Venetian security, the change of residence to Venice, the Byzantine reminders there and the studies among divers masters—though the legend of the Tintoretto influence is current enough. Certainly not every El Greco enthusiast ponders the ten years the young painter spent in Italy, until he was something like thirty-five in fact; or thinks—provided, that is, he ever heard of it—of El Greco's Roman triumph when Julia Clovio, the miniature painter, was writing to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in Viterbo that there had appeared a young Candiote, a pupil of Titian, who, so far as Clovio could judge, was unique in painting; "among other things, he has painted a self-portrait that confounds all the painters in Rome."

We are far more apt to think of El Greco as bursting into the style most apt to be associated with him. And that burst, or appearance, is set in Spanish Toledo. The painting of El Greco's middle period is what is usually thought of as his, as the ultimate El Greco; and into this style, as a rule, are merged, blended, semi-ignored or forced the divergences of those first years of his life in Spain, with that

[1] El Greco, edited by Ludwig Goldscheider. New York: The Oxford University Press. 30 pages of text, 232 plates in photogravure

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

element of almost realism, as compared with what was to come later; and of those final years, for which any explanation, or as it were plainsong, must be so difficult. El Greco's later works can, as the editor says here, be explained in their technique, but not in their visible content, that is in spirit. As dreams have their coherence and their reason, which yet are not the causal connection and the logic of waking, so these pictures have their own linear and color organism.

To see, as we do in this volume, the procession of El Greco through his own years, places and influences, therefore, is of great value to us, even though we go on muddling his shifting qualities into one quality; just as through the years in Toledo they went on rating him as the "Greek." In the meantime, however, it can do no harm to know that this Toledo, in which this painter found his soul's arena, the fire, shadow and rapture true to his own eyes, and the market for his brush, was now the focus of the spiritual world; which Rome, for all its works and personalities, no longer was. The extreme discipline of Loyola, the extreme ecstasy of St. Teresa of Avila, settled there where Philip was building the Escorial as the last citadel of faith. In Toledo, just as houses may become fortresses in times of danger, many of the palaces were now monasteries: at the moment Catholic Spain was Catholicism, more so than Rome. El Greco, coming out of Crete, with its antiquity beyond that of Egypt almost, and out of a later Byzantine culture, saw what at last he had come into. He saw the saints no longer rising from their graves clothed all in color, poetry and symbol, but as Spanish visions finding bodies; and what in Italy had been the poetry of beauty became now the violent flesh of holiness. And meanwhile, curiously enough, Spanish painting itself had got very little farther than imitation of the achievements of other peoples. The empire that Charles V represented, and that he proposed to men's imagination, covered a wide domain: great artisans and great artists served its center. Titian to all royal purposes served admirably, as did canvases by Tintoretto, Veronese, by sober artists like Hieronymus Bosch from the Netherlands, or pupils of Leonardo da Vinci like Ferrando de Llanos and Ferrando Yañez, or Titian's pupils, El Mudo, Coello, Pantoja de la Cruz.

If the end of it all might have been foreseen, as it doubtless was by some, such a prevision could not be expected of El Greco. This declension, which had begun with the abdication of Charles V and his retreat to San Yuste, was too slow to be observed, whereas the empire's expansion was accompanied by a blaze of the arts that dazzled contemporaries. If the history and continuous development, or technical and inner movement, of El Greco is comprised in this volume of his works—along with those plates where the detail is more fully supplied—then the incredible values, it may be said, of the Spain of his time are also left with us. What, therefore, is dead and what not dead who shall say, or where the victory lies, or the magnificence most remains?

To leave the whole subject of this book's impact and the probable avenues of its influence, I may mention one purely technical item, of interest very likely only to those bound and absorbed with the strictly painter's art: I could wish that of the many pages one had been given over to the technical reproduction of a canvas space exactly the size, have some closer record of El Greco's method of painting; that going from dark to light; the brown or red-brown background; the working with a whitish paste, quite transparent when laid on thinly, and never less than half so; the transparent glazes serving as the colors, broadly applied; the brushwork leading into quite different color effects without any mingling and without any breaks. One plate like that would be of great use. But such a request and such ingratitude is only a compliment, more or less ultimate at that, to a notable book.

STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

Both Presidents Roosevelt and Cárdenas ought to realize that a lot of Americans are saying: "Why not just go down there and take over Mexico? It would solve our unemployment problem. The Mexicans themselves would be better off. Hitler or Mussolini would do it like a shot if they were as close to Mexico as we are . . . they might do it anyhow if we don't watch out." – *Editorial in The [Hearst] New York Daily Mirror.*

1938 Wasn't a Bad Export Year at That

The National Socialist government and party circles here officially disclaim any "connection" with the German-American Bund. Any such connection, it is held, would constitute "interference in the internal affairs of another nation." As such it would be contrary to the policy of the Third Reich and the oft-proclaimed dictum that "National Socialism is no export commodity." – *From a Berlin dispatch to The New York Times.*

Tell Us Again, We Love to Hear It

"Must the Foreign Office always be explaining Japan's actions?" Asahi asks. "Since the outbreak of the China affair it has broadcast several times that Japan has no territorial designs." – *From The New York Times.*

The Lowest Nadir

Mary Ellis, sixty-five, white-haired pastor, said today she had never seen a nude as naked as the one in Thomas Hart Benton's "Suzanna and the Elders."

"The nude," she said, "is stark naked. It's lewd, immoral, obscene, lascivious, degrading, an insult to womanhood and the lowest expression of pure filth. It leaves nothing to the imagination." – *From a St. Louis dispatch in The New York Post.*

On the Oft Chance?

Is the U. S. "Going to Hell"?

Frankly, no one can now answer this question with certainty.

When arranging clients' investments, however, we constantly keep this question in mind. – *From an advertisement of Babson's Reports, Inc.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Band-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

Junior J-Man

SIR: I have sent the following letter to Frank Hague Jr.:

[ENCLOSURE]

Dear Junior:

So soon you will become a judge of the New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals. Here indeed is a milestone in the history of New Jersey jurisprudence. I realize how pleased your daddy must be with this appointment and I hope he will find time to get up from Miami to be present at your induction.

I too have a junior, aged seven, who like you is eminently qualified to don the Jersey ermine, and I trust that you will put in a good word for him with our distinguished Governor in order that his daddy may also be pleased. I am now preparing a biographical sketch to be entitled "All That He Is Today He Owes to His Father, and What Governor Moore Owed His Father Nobody Knows," and in this connection it may be necessary to call upon you for further details as to the acquisition of that degree tendered you by the renowned Southern college whose name both you and I have unfortunately forgotten. At all events at the outset of what assuredly will be the growth of the fairest judicial rose in "The Garden State," will you accept the hearty congratulations of a layman who looks forward to years of many errors but few appeals. . . .

Radburn, N. J. MC ALISTER COLEMAN

The Townsendites and the Economists

SIR: My name was drawn into a controversy in your issue of March 1, in your correspondence section, under the title of "The Economics of the Townsend Plan." I'd like to assure you that this was done without my knowledge. However, may I offer my reaction to the statements made by your editors?

You claimed that "any general tax on business transactions is equivalent, economically, to a sales tax—it is merely a wider extension of the same principle." Righto! "Any sales tax places a heavier proportional burden on those of low income than a graduated income tax, unless the sales tax is levied only on things that those who have low incomes do not buy." You score again.

You stated that "it is not a fact that 'all forms of taxes are carried down to the ultimate consumer.' Income and profits taxes are not so carried down." Here's where I beg to differ with you. May I ask you how an income or profit upon which taxes are payable could be demonstrated if business did not pass on such taxes in the price of goods sold? Supposing business sold its goods for such prices that it showed neither net income nor net profits, then it would not have to pay a tax, would it? The fact that business did pay taxes upon net income or net profits proves that goods must have been sold at prices which included the taxes payable upon such net income or net profits.

You also stated that "there is no stimulus to public purchasing power through taxation and distribution of tax receipts—no matter what the form of tax and spending. Stimulus comes only when the spending rests on borrowing and an expansion of bank credit."

I claim that a tax levied for a specific purpose such as ours does create a stimulus to public purchasing power. What is more, this is no longer a theory but a fact. You sort of contradicted spending rests on borrowing. . . ." Is not borrowing equivalent to taxation—deferred taxes to be paid at some future date? Is it not more costly than taxation upon a pay-as-you-go basis? Do you not have to raise taxes to pay back not only the amount borrowed, but the interest charges thereon?

You said that "if our Townsendites would read any standard economic work on taxation they would see the fallacy of their argument." That's exactly the trouble with this country of ours today. Knowledge which comes only from actual experience has been relegated to the metropolitan ashcan—and in its place has cropped up the learned element, the economist, if you please.

LOUIS C. SILVA

Washington, D. C. Statistician, Townsend Recovery Plan

[We really wish the Townsendites would take the trouble to read the economic experts whose conclusions they so gayly brush aside. It would save us a lot of space. Nevertheless, since Mr. Silva won't go to a library, we patiently take up the burden of his education.

1. Prices are determined either by market conditions or by deliberate control. In the former case the seller can't fix them high enough to include taxes or anything else; he can't fix them at all; he has to sell at the market price or not sell. If he is fortunate enough to make a profit, the government takes a share of it after it is made. If prices are determined by conscious control, then the seller will try to fix them at the level that gives him the most profit, having regard to the quantity that can be sold. He would make the same decision if no profits tax existed. The point is that in either case, or in any combination of them, prices would be the same without profits taxes. And surely Mr. Silva would not maintain that taxes on individual incomes affect prices.

2. Mr. Silva asserts that it "is not a theory but a fact" that the Townsendite tax creates a stimulus to public purchasing power. We beg to doubt his unsupported assertion. You can't increase the volume of purchasing power without increasing the amount of money and credit. This requires either government issues of more money or an expanded volume of bank credit. And you can't get bank credit without borrowing it. Taxation merely transfers money from some persons to others. If the government pays back its depression debt in a period of prosperity, it has to do so by collecting taxes, of course, but the *rate* of taxation in relation to the income of the taxpayers may be no larger than when the debt was incurred. – THE EDITORS]

Crudeness in German Life?

SIR: In reference to Mumford's "The Decline of the West" in The New Republic of January 11: Truly one may admire the mental agility with which a Neville Chamberlain conceals under an ideological veneer the crude desire to save his particular class interests (or clique interests, if you like) at the expense of those ideals which we all have been taught to prize. But crude his method is—barbaric in its crudeness.

Today we stand aghast at the Nazi atrocities, forgetful of the glories of the German past. Will Mr. Mumford on second thought insist on the accuracy of his phrase: "the crudenesses of German life, experience and thought"? Will he, in the light of what German scholarship has achieved? Will he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will he assign the crude, hypocritical barbarisms of the English Tory life, experience and thought, which have produced a Neville Chamberlain? I am not a German.

Siloam Springs, Ark. J. OLSON ANDERS

SIR: Do I insist upon the accuracy of my phrase? Naturally: or else I should have used another characterization. But this does not mean, as for some incredible reason Mr. Anders seems to think it means, that I reject or undervalue the Germany of Heine and Goethe, of Rainer Maria Rilke and Thomas Mann. It is important, however, to realize that the barbarism that now confronts us in Nazi Germany is not solely a byproduct of the War, or is it alone due to the hypnotic passes of Adolf Hitler. On the contrary, Nazism is the manifestation of a stream of thought and feeling that has long been present in German life: a state for which the word crude is the correct epithet. It is precisely this common element, which one finds in some of the most vigorous German thinkers, in Fichte, Nietzsche, Treitschke, no less than in Spengler, that has helped give Hitler his ascendancy: his words carry echoes from far mightier minds than his. This, too, is what makes so schoolboyish most of the prescriptions for diverting or appeasing Nazism's barbaric airs.

Amenia, N. Y. LEWIS MUMFORD

John Dewey's Liberalism

SIR: May I express my deep appreciation of the article on John Dewey by C. E. Ayres in The New Republic of January 18. I wish, however, that the author might have stressed the political connotations of Dewey's philosophy, particularly in those last few paragraphs in which he contrasts Dewey's "liberalism" and "doubt" with the precept of "direct action" as advocated by the various cults of Marxian dogma. It seems to me that the great lesson which the rise of fascism should have taught us is that irrationalism on the right cannot be destroyed by employing irrationalism on the left; and that Marxism, unless it becomes a scientific weapon, capable of modification, of self-criticism and self-correction, will perish by its own philosophy. Like irrationalism on the right—capitalism—Marxism too contains the seeds of its own destruction. . . .

Liberalism, like science, has experienced many setbacks and, again like science, has often been used for anti-social purposes. But the general direction and attitude seems to me to be the correct one, and it is only by succumbing to the philosophy of irrationalism that we finally betray ourselves to the enemy. We can't extinguish a fire with an acetylene torch.

Chicago, Ill. SYDNEY JUSTIN HARRIS

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Paul Sturm and Otto Sattler write us that the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, organized in 1884 by German-Americans, has been getting constant complaints that there is a growing tendency in America to discharge or not to hire German-Americans. The Nazis, as they say, will be the only gainers from such lack of discrimination between the German people and the present regime. . . . The Non-Sectarian Committee for German Refugee Children announces that some of its co-chairmen will be George Cardinal Mundelein, Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York and William Allen White. Its address is 122 East Twenty-second Street, New York City. . . . Wallace J. Campbell informs us that, contrary to stories published in some New York newspapers, none of the members of the Co-operative League of America, with 965,000 patrons, has taken any steps toward negotiating a barter agreement by which German-manufactured goods would be exchanged for American

Mrs. W. C. Poage of Kirkland, Washington, thinks Stuart Chase's article, "How to Stop Dictators" (January 25), is too tame. She would like to see Mr. Chase write again for The New Republic and try to "wake up the neutrals, doubtfuls and indifferents" to the necessity of educating the common people and the middle classes to lend strength and power sufficient to accomplish intelligent majority rule in action. . . . T. Swann Harding of Falls Church, Virginia, takes The New Republic's side in the editorial-advertisement skirmish over vitamins. He quotes the editorial, "Vitamin and Mineral Concentrates in Dietary Practice," in The Journal of the American Dietetic Association, February, 1939, as evidence. . . . Joseph Manlet of Cleveland Heights, Ohio, on the other hand, is a middle-of-the-roader. "The editors of The New Republic . . . are wrong if they take for granted that the natural foods which are supposed to contain the necessary vitamins do actually contain them. . . . Much of our agricultural soil has been depleted of the mineral elements that go to make up a complete human diet and the foods grown on such soil do not contain them."

Paul Perrin of the International Bureau for the Right of Asylum and Aid to Political Refugees, 10, rue de Chateaudun, Paris, France, sends us an account of the situation of the refugees in Czecho-Slovakia and a bundle of photographs of the refugee home at Svepravice. His organization is collecting $4,000, the amount necessary to carry on the work of evacuation of the refugees during the next month or so. Contributions should be mailed directly to M. Perrin. . . . Houghton Mifflin, 2 Park Street, Boston, announces two literary fellowships for 1939, one in fiction and one in non-fiction. These will be given to promising writers to aid them in completing projected books, and will carry an award of $1,000 in addition to and entirely apart from subsequent royalties. Applications must be filed before April 1, 1939.

SEVENTH
RUSSIAN SEMINAR
AND
TOWN HALL in EUROPE
WITH

Dr. Jerome Davis

World Traveler—Lecturer—Author

GAIN FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE
OF
Social, Economic, Political Conditions
in the U S S R and
NINE OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
England, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Roumania, Hungary, Switzerland, France.

Options:
Austria, Germany, or Italy.

Sail from New York June 27

For Further Information and Illustrated Folder Write

BUREAU OF UNIVERSITY TRAVEL
Box J-19, Newton, Mass.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Review

The Brown Koran[1]

WHEN GOEBBELS pictures Nazi Germany advancing "with 'Mein Kampf' in one hand and the sword in the other," his image, perhaps intentionally, recalls that other prophetic work of a militant race which cries out for comparison with Hitler's testament—the Koran. But the Arabs forced the Koran upon unbelievers, especially outsiders, whereas the prophet-publisher Hitler, though selling over four million copies of his memoirs within Germany, has so far withheld the complete text from most foreign audiences. He went to court to suppress the full French text denouncing France—*esse delenda*—as the bastard-folk, the arch-enemy of Germany and Aryanism. The bowdlerized Anglo-American version of 1933, edited in Berlin, translated in London, published in Boston and London, omitted two-thirds of the original, trimming away the most drastic declarations of policy as well as passion and stringing together the remainder in a misleading manner. Aside from the Italian translation, there is to the best of our knowledge no complete version available in a foreign language; even that for Arabs is said to be expurgated so as not to hurt their sensibilities, since they, after all, are Semites.

Here is an extraordinary situation: a political book of the utmost significance has been kept back from a foreign public presumably with a vital interest in knowing it, for more than a decade, and this, moreover, with the help of international copyright, an outcome that would have appeared most fantastic to those who originally worked for that agreement. Apparently Hitler has followed the precepts of the old Tokugawa rulers of Japan, who kept their laws secret on the principle that the people could not criticize what they did not know: Hitler's victims were not to be acquainted prematurely with his policies.

Some of these victims have already been swallowed up since the two volumes first appeared in 1925 and 1926-7. Austria, for example, whose union with Germany was demanded by Hitler on his opening page, as the prerequisite for wider imperialist conquest, has fallen. Many of the groups and institutions attacked by Hitler have also been defeated or weakened; and the reader today will no longer be inclined to smile even at the most extravagant or incoherent passages fulminating against democracy, the churches or capitalism. Such striking tirades will be regarded with as much respect as his announcement: "The guiding principle which made the Prussian Army in its time the most wonderful instrument of the German people must be carried over to form the guiding principle of our entire state constitution." Herein lies the great danger for the average reader: he will be tempted to regard "Mein Kampf" as a handy guide to Nazi actions, a blueprint for the future as well as a graph of the past.

Six years ago, when the expurgated English version was published, we had, relatively speaking, more to learn from "Mein Kampf" than now. The reading public might have gained vital information, a timely warning, besides real shocks from many of the passages omitted as "matter not of general and international interest," such as those furiously assailing America, business, the press, labor unions, religion, peace, "the rotten bourgeois world" and the "nonsense of 'western democracy,' " or announcing his determination to create a new German Empire, twice as populous and far vaster in extent than the old, and eventually make it "master of the earth." Undoubtedly, the rose-watered edition of Houghton Mifflin, with its graceful elisions concealing enormous gaps, its general tendency to smooth and soothe, cannot have failed to contribute its mite to the Anglo-Saxon mental and material unpreparedness that Godesberg and Munich brought to light.

Today the book has aged; it has a familiar ring. Moreover, contrasted with the actual policies of the Nazis, it represents on the whole the minimum of their desires and demands, instead of the maximum, and an understatement rather than exaggeration of the means to be employed. Colonial and naval demands, for example, were less conspicuous on Hitler's earlier charts than they are in 1939. Allowance must be made for the fact that older interests which helped elevate Hitler and for a time tended to moderate his claims are now out of the way: the original Reichswehr, for instance, and the capitalist forces so long represented by the name of Schacht. After all, the book dates in many respects and has become historical; author and party have gone far beyond the terminal position of the 1920's marked by these outpourings, still full of traits of the old bourgeois Pan-Germanism. The formulation, "revolutionary in means, counter-revolutionary in aims," once seemingly applicable, no longer encompasses Hitlerism; it has become as revolutionary in the one respect as the other. It is now clearly "the Revolution of Nihilism," as it is aptly characterized by the former head of the Danzig government, Dr. Hermann Rauschning, an expert far ahead of all other ex-Nazis in intelligence and integrity. Speaking with full inner knowledge of the movement, Rauschning warns us that nothing is "more senseless" than to ask for "the ultimate demands, the highest prices insisted upon by their dynamic foreign policy. . . . It would amount to a total misunderstanding of National Socialism to think that it is able to evolve into a peaceful policy abroad and a free order at home."

Yet the book must be read, because it still reveals potentialities, if not the precise plans, of Hitlerism. For instance, the German treaties with Japan and Italy are illuminated by the sentence, deleted in the earlier edition: "An alliance whose aim does not include the purpose of a war, is without meaning and value." The bulk of the book will be new and constantly startling to English readers; moreover, both translations go back to the first edition, much franker than

[1] Mein Kampf, by Adolf Hitler. New York: Stackpole Sons. 669 pages. $3.

LICENSED TO IINZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and terrorism upon the "happy-driveling German Babbitt." Some of these passages were modified when the book was forced on the German masses, among whom it continues to exercise an incalculable effect.

Both translations are fairly good, though constantly differing; both bear evidences of hasty preparation and are frequently careless and inexact, as when the Reynal and Hitchcock version makes Hitler's parents, instead of his birthplace, "Bavarian by blood." Both erroneously translate *Schulverein* as a mere club, not realizing that it was a large Pan-German organization. Both alike struggle with the rare and curious problem of turning a bad book into good or at least readable English; if "style is the man," the strange man Hitler will obviously be best presented by an awkward and peculiar style, rendering his mixture of bad sophomoric composition, stiff bureaucratic jargon and the oratorical *suada* of an ill prepared but feverishly repetitious speaker. Both translations sometimes abandon the attempt to reproduce his "boners"; where Hitler idiotically says, "acquit us of all guilt and atonement," one work has "blame and guilt," the other "guilt and sin."

As with no other book, therefore, the least smooth and plausible version would be preferable, and hence the Stackpole translation, on the whole, seems to be a shade better than the other, which is a little less literal, though offering a useful apparatus of notes for the average reader. In one passage, for instance, Hitler declares that, had Germany possessed the herdlike unity of other peoples, she would "probably today be mistress of the globe" and her "victorious sword" would have brought the rest of the "world into the service of a higher *Kultur*"; the Stackpole translation correctly speaks of "herd" unity and "whimpering" pacifists, whereas the other rendering gives "group" and "moaning." The "unauthorized" Stackpole version will pay no royalty to Hitler; the other, published by arrangement with Houghton Mifflin, apparently does pay such royalty, thus contributing to the million and more made out of the book by Hitler in Germany, but it offers to devote a share of the proceeds to a fund for refugees from the realm of the dictator-author, surely one of the oddest incidents in the history of book-selling.

ALFRED VAGTS and MIRIAM BEARD

The Long Revolution

The Tree of Liberty, by Elizabeth Page. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. $3.

WHAT SETS THIS BOOK APART from the flood of historical novels is the author's keen understanding of history. Here is no romantic nostalgia for a day that never was; Miss Page's treatment of the period her story covers, 1754-1806, is intelligent and without sentimentality. She makes very clear her own love of justice and hatred of reaction, and she writes convincingly of the struggle of the American revolutionists to found "a reasonable government," and their equally bitter struggle, once this government was achieved, to keep it from falling into the hands of the Tories.

The characters fall into two general types, those who crat—and those whose backgrounds and economic interests incline them toward Alexander Hamilton. The conflict between these two schools of thought is demonstrated in the struggle between Matthew Howard, liberty-loving son of the Shenandoah frontier, and his conservative wife, Jane Peyton, a blue-blood from the slave-owning Tidewater district of Virginia. Matthew worships his boyhood friend Tom Jefferson; Jane is inclined to feel that Mr. Jefferson is a traitor to his class. Matthew cheers the revolutionary stand taken by Patrick Henry; Jane and her foppish brother Fleetwood are shocked by the resistance to "such a small tax." And so the fight continues for nearly a thousand crammed pages. It is reënacted in Matt's sons, James and Peyton, Peyton being a devoted follower of Washington and Lafayette, while James falls prey to the sophistry and charm of Hamilton. (This is one of those novels in which the characters are all on intimate terms with the great, and hardly miss becoming acquainted with any personage mentioned in history.) The family feud of Howard on the left and Peyton on the right is still flaring away in the third generation. When the novel closes with Matt and Jane still devoted, still divided, inspecting the progeny of the fourth generation, the reader does not have to be very bright to catch Miss Page's implication that it will continue *ad infinitum*.

This feud, in spite of the schematism of its presentation, well illustrates the simple but often forgotten fact that the Americans did not rise as a united body of Minute Men to throw off a foreign tyranny, that the war was won by a powerful minority faction of "radicals," and that the leaders had to fight as bitterly against the die-hards at home

Here's the answer to

What Can I Do for Democracy?

Every week brings alarming new signs of intolerance and bigotry in America. Every week 85,000,000 Americans pay admissions to motion picture theatres. It is up to us to reach these millions who must be made aware of the vicious anti-American propaganda of the demagogues. They must be provided with and will welcome a new kind of motion picture which will arouse in their hearts new pride and new love for our Democracy. If ever the motion picture should be used to disseminate fundamental democratic principles, to make Americans conscious of the barbarous vandalism and intolerance which now prevails in the dictator-ridden countries, and of late has begun to loom up menacingly in our own midst—*now is the time!*

Films for Democracy

a non-profit organization dedicated to bring about the production of truthful, fearless films presenting today's vital problems from the progressive point of view.

Among the Sponsors of Films for Democracy Are:

THURMAN ARNOLD	LOUIS BROMFIELD
THOMAS MANN	WALTER WANGER
FRANZ BOAS	FREDRIC MARCH
MRS. HAROLD L. ICKES	DUDLEY NICHOLS
WM. J. SCHIEFFELIN	HEYWOOD BROUN

Join these outstanding Progressives in defense of Democracy by becoming a member. Invite a speaker from Films for Democracy to address your organization. Fill out and mail the coupon below before you put this periodical aside!

PLEASE DO IT NOW!

Check Type of Membership Wanted

Sponsor $100-$500
Sustaining $10-$50

FILMS for DEMOCRACY, 342 Madison Ave. New York City. Telephone: VA 6-3660
Ned H. Dearborn, Chairman Robert K. Speer, Treas. Samuel J. Rodman, Executive Secretary

I enclose my contribution of $..... . Send me membership card. News Bulletin and membership application blanks for distribution.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as they ever fought the British. But the story itself reads like an afterthought. Miss Page's analysis of the motives and actions of historical figures is both thoughtful and mature, but when they appear as characters in her novel they conduct themselves like so many grade children acting in a Washington's Birthday pageant. It would seem that one of the tragedies of the current craze for historical fiction is that it lures writers, unpractised in the novel, to bury sound research and hard thinking under the debris of an almost fatuous "story." JOHN HYDE PRESTON

China Can Win

Inside Red China, by Nym Wales. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 380 pages. $3.
Unconquered, by James Bertram. New York: The John Day Company. 353 pages. $3.
The Dragon Wakes, by Edgar Ansel Mowrer. New York: William Morrow and Company. 242 pages. $2.

THESE THREE BOOKS are a welcome addition to the library on the present Sino-Japanese war. They cover different phases, and are written from different points of view, but they are unanimous in their opinion that China can win. The first gives the story of life in the Chinese Soviet area during the summer of 1937. The second takes us to the same area—already renamed the Special District, after the establishment of the United Front—and to the shifting battle lines of the Eighth Route Army. The period is from September, 1937, to March, 1938. The third is the report of a veteran war correspondent on his short but eventful first visit to southern and western China, in the early summer of 1938.

"Inside Red China," written by the wife of Edgar Snow, can be considered a sequel to his brilliant book, "Red Star over China." It contains a huge amount of material. Nym Wales succeeded in interviewing practically all the prominent leaders of the Soviet regime in China, and a number of less illustrious followers. Unfortunately the material is presented in its raw form and, though valuable for specialists, will hardly appeal to the broader reading public. There are pages written with humor, especially those describing her "Escape to the Soviets," when she eluded the vigilant police of Sian to reach the forbidden area ruled by the Communists. The fighting against the Red Army had stopped and the military blockade was lifted, but not the news blockade. It is a pity that the author did not make clear the method she followed in making her notes. (The interviews were carried out through an interpreter; they had to be translated into English. Are they based on verbatim stenographic records? Were the translations checked?) The women revolutionaries are especially interesting. Enchanted by them, the author exclaimed, "I do not think any nation could produce a more splendid woman revolutionary or a more beautiful character." She was highly impressed by the discipline and morale of the Red Army, the equipment and first-rate training, the political consciousness and the high quality of the leadership. Nym Wales is convinced that if the British and Americans now give support to the Chinese government, it can solve the problems of the Far East in conquered." Familiar with the situation in North China even before he wrote the story of the Sian incident ("The First Act in China"), he has now spent six profitable months among the leaders in the rear and at the front. His report vividly describes the methods by which these gallant fighters defeat the Japanese in spite of the superior armament and equipment of the latter, as at Pinhsikwan on the Great Wall and at Hsinkow Pass. To their credit is the mobilization of the people of Shansi and Shensi Provinces. They succeeded in organizing guerilla warfare in the rear and on the flanks of the invaders. They have completely changed the attitude of the population toward the soldiers, with traditional fear giving place to respect and affection. They never abused people, but protected them; they never plundered but always paid for whatever they asked and offered a helping hand as well. Today in that region the Japanese have to fight the entire population, not the army men alone. Perhaps the best chapter of Bertram's book is the one called "Partisan," in which he describes this special type of warfare.

Bertram's pictures of the countryside are very good. The real strength of the Chinese people is not in the coastal cities; it is in the villages and district towns. After long years of ignorance and civil strife, the peasantry is being welded together with one conscious and increasing purpose —to free its mother country from the invaders. Bertram has no doubts that with their superb vitality the Chinese will win. As for Japan herself, he found her, on his return from China, gloomy but still showing no trace of breaking down. Economically she is bearing a terrific strain, but can still stand it for another year or two (in the opinion of Mao Tse-tung). Chances of a revolution in Japan seem to Bertram very slim. Regimentation is all-embracing, and there are no signs of an impending revolt. In his opinion it is more likely that discontent in the army ranks may bring an end to this enormous blunder of Japanese militarists.

Edgar Ansel Mowrer's book is an extremely able report by a veteran journalist, who knows how to get the material, how to sift it and how to write an informative and entertaining story. It is amazing that in such a short time, on a first visit to such a complex country as China, he could write a book in which the errors are so few and unimportant. Mowrer thinks that the unity of the Chinese people is genuine and will last; nationalism continues to gain ground. He admires the common people of China, speaks highly of the soldiers, even after watching their retreat, and deplores the mediocrity of their officers. He believes in the ability of China as a whole not only to continue her fight against the invaders but to gain a final victory. Flying over the southwest, he became convinced that it is an impregnable fastness, where the Chinese can continue their resistance indefinitely.

Mowrer insists that a united front of the liberty-loving peoples is the only hope left for checking the "Highwaymen's Alliance," as he prefers to call the "anti-Communist front" of Germany, Italy and Japan. Very definitely disapproving the methods used by the government of Moscow at home, nevertheless he advocates coöperation with the USSR by Great Britain, France and the United States, for he believes in its sincere willingness to defend democracy. In

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he writes, "can mean the complete stopping of the present political rot—the tendency to return to the rule of the brute, the maniac and the moron. Therefore it is eminently proper to take a chance on China."

VICTOR A. YAKHONTOFF

Educating the Emotions

Emotion and the Educative Process, by Daniel A. Prescott. Washington: American Council on Education. 323 pages. $1.50.

THIS BOOK has a history. Seven years ago a committee of the American Council on Education recommended the field of emotion as one of the more important fields requiring study in relation to personnel problems and, after a period of conferences and meetings extending over several years, a committee was appointed to conduct an exploratory investigation. The Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation financed the project and a committee was named with Professor Daniel A. Prescott as chairman. The book constitutes the committee's report to the American Council and contains, as its motif, the following remarkable statement:

> World political developments, new devices for swaying the emotions of entire nations simultaneously, emphasis on blind mass fervor, impatience with the scientific approach to national problems, all have driven home the lesson that the job of education is not done when knowledge is disseminated and increased. If the scholar, concerned with his primary business of knowledge, fails to deal with the whole man, particularly with the control of passion and the guidance of desire, he may properly be charged with contributory negligence when the democracy becomes either a mob or a regimented army, when freedom to learn or to teach disappears, [and] when the neglected emotions submerge the life of reason.

In other words, democratic education misses one of its most important and salutary functions when it concentrates on reading, writing and arithmetic to the exclusion of the emotions. Training the emotions, however, does not mean stifling or regimenting them. On the contrary, if we encourage the development of the emotional life, two significant results may be expected to occur: (1) education can take advantage of the tonic physiological effect of mild emotion, which in turn facilitates the learning process, and (2) young people will learn to understand the role of emotion and particularly emotional attitudes in human life, which in turn facilitates critical examination of the social situation in which they find themselves. By recognizing the part that pressure groups play on the passions and prejudices, that is, on the untrained emotions, education can do more of its proper share toward the maintenance of democratic institutions.

The book as a whole maintains a temperate tone and a clear style, and exhibits a humility consonant with an exploratory study without at the same time dodging the question, "Where do we go from here?" In addition, Professor Prescott has steered a judicious yet firm path between the "progressivists" and the "essentialists," currently in feud over whether the child should do what it wants or do what the teacher wants. For all of these reasons, and most of all because they have refused [illegible]

Vitamins *Plus*

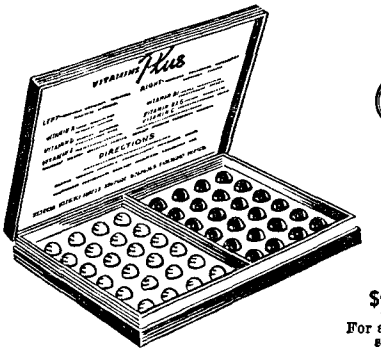
"... that it has already been proved, by large-scale feeding tests on "experimental" human communities, that when certain improvements and additions are made to our common dietary usage, unmistakable benefits follow, in physique, in stature, and in good health and happiness — pointing the way to a finer, sturdier race in the years to come."

VITAMINS in Theory and Practice
by Leslie J. Harris, Sc.D., D.Sc.
Nutritional Laboratory, University of Cambridge and Medical Research Council.

IT IS sometimes argued that "if you have sufficient intelligence and money you can maintain buoyant health on a basis of natural foods only."

IF one qualifies "intelligence" by adding "and *interest* and *information*", IF one qualifies "money" by adding "and a willingness to spend it for natural foods of prime quality, fresh and unprocessed" and IF one identifies the YOU of the above statement as a normal individual now in buoyant health, we will cheerfully agree. But, in the meantime, we take our stand with the accredited biochemists who are in daily contact with the extensive laboratory and clinical work of this fascinating scientific field and point to the millions of *intelligent* people, *with money*, who might be made a great deal more comfortable and agreeable, if they put prevention before cure and at once (today) put themselves in the way of acquiring the habit of supplemental vitamin enrichment of their possibly inadequate but nevertheless habitual daily diet.

VITAMINS *Plus* is a daily vitamin routine, containing all these vitamins — A, B, C, D, E and G. And for plus effectiveness, it also provides liver concentrate and iron. VITAMINS *Plus* is biologically standardized, and available immediately at (or easily obtainable through) every drug store and department store in the United States. VITAMINS *Plus* is priced at $2.75 for 24 days' supply.



Tested and Approved — 5015 — Good Housekeeping Bureau — Good Housekeeping Magazine

BIOLOGICALLY STANDARDIZED

$2.75
For a 24 days' supply

The Vitamins *Plus* formula follows:

Vitamin A: 20,000 U.S.P. or International Units
Vitamin D: 2,000 U.S.P. or International Units
Vitamin E: Cold pressed from wheat-germ
Vitamin B-1: 500 Sherman Units (250 International Units)
Vitamin B-2 (G): 25 Sherman-Bourquin Units
Vitamin C: 500 International Units
Plus Liver Concentrate. Plus Iron.

Copyright February 1939 Vitamins Plus, Inc.

VITAMINS PLUS, INCORPORATED
370 LEXINGTON AVENUE, N. Y. C.

☐ Herewith is $2.75 for a 24 days' supply of Vitamins Plus ☐ Please send me your booklet, "What can I expect from vitamins?"
☐ Send my Vitamins Plus C. O. D.

*Name*_____
*Street*_____
*City*_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IF WAR COMES
Should We Fight?

BERTRAND RUSSELL
HARRY ELMER BARNES
LEWIS MUMFORD
MAX LERNER
JOHN T. FLYNN
CHARLES A. BEARD
JOHN DEWEY

DISCUSS THE PROS AND CONS OF THIS PRESSING QUESTION IN THE MARCH ISSUE OF

COMMON SENSE

"I think that in spite of Munich, war in Europe will come, and probably soon. . . ."

—BERTRAND RUSSELL

$1 for 7 Months

—of Frank C. Hanighen's monthly reports on Europe, Senator Sheridan Downey and Representative Jerry Voorhis exclusive stories on Congress.

Also this Month:

A COMING NAZI-SOVIET PACT? by Peter Drucker
HOUSING FOR THE MILLIONS by Maury Maverick
WHY I BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY by Arthur Garfield Hays
THE "N. Y. TIMES" vs. MEXICO by Max Putzel
THOMAS AMLIE TAKES THE STAND, by Selden Rodman

COMMON SENSE, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York.
Enclosed is my dollar. Please begin my introductory 7-month subscription to *Common Sense* with the current issue.

Name .....

Address .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chairman are to be congratulated. They have published a book which, widely used, may help to solve one of the more importunate problems of democracy.

ROBERT BIERSTEDT

Vivisectionist

Variety: Second Series, by Paul Valéry. Translated by William Aspenwall Bradley. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 273 pages. $2.50.

IN 1919 M. Valéry wrote of the western world: "The ship has pitched and tossed too long; the stoutest lamps are finally overturned." In 1936 he found things very much the same: "Time, space and matter are, as it were, on the fire, and the categories in fusion." So much for progress during the last two decades.

This is not to suggest that M. Valéry is a prophet of doom, though one often finds him fighting off its persuasions. He is undoubtedly one of the most acute, profound and well informed critics writing today, and his essays at their best are brilliant vivisections of our social and intellectual life. Once having laid bare the anatomy of our time, however, he stops short. "Here is the body and here are the data," he seems to say; "let who will, and can, sew it up again." Like most contemporary critics, his powers are analytical rather than synthetic. But he is unique in that his analyses oscillate uniformly, almost formally, within the terms of paradox, each term bearing within it the germ of its contradiction, each positive implying its negative. Thus, in the essay on Baudelaire he sums up the old question of classicism vs. romanticism in the axiom: "Every classicism assumes a preceding romanticism. . . . Order assumes a certain disorder to be overcome." In an early essay in the 1927 "Variety" he finds that "man is incessantly and necessarily opposed to *whatever is* by his concern for *what is not!*" Elsewhere in the same volume he suggests that "the false implies the true" and that therefore "the history of thought . . . is absurd by what it seeks; great by what it finds." The present volume of "Variety" continues the series of paradoxical counterbalances. In the brilliant essay, "Spiritual Polity," he finds that the spirit, or "the power of transformation," as he calls it, is responsible for both the order and disorder of the world "because it has first of all conceived that *which is* as a disorder to be overcome." In the penetrating essay on Stendhal he writes that "truth and the will to truth" will inevitably produce falsehood: "In literature truth is not conceivable."

The fountainhead of these fluent antinomies is to be found in "a paradoxical instinct" of man's spirit which, working in constant opposition to all the other instincts of the natural man, introduces "an element of . . . ever proximate instability into the living system." In short, M. Valéry's paradoxical method would seem to derive from, or be founded on, a paradox of human nature. Upon further reflection one is struck by the apparently organic, almost compensatory character of the relations between his antinomies: order and disorder, true and false, the ens and the nonent—in the essay on Corot he "goes so far as to think that *ornament* . . . is a natural reaction of our sense

viewed physiologically, they are governed by such natural laws of compensation and balance as the principle of antagonistic nerves. Doubtless M. Valéry's study of both mathematics and natural science has influenced his critical method. On the one hand his balanced antinomies call to mind "the formal symmetry" which in an early essay on Poe he posited as "the essential character of Einstein's universe." On the other, they seem to derive by analogy from the anabolic and katabolic activities of the physical organism. As a key to M. Valéry's method, I suspect, one may take this axiom: both physically and spiritually, man strives toward an equilibrium which by the laws of nature he must constantly destroy.

In view of this it is little wonder that M. Valéry explicitly refuses to offer solutions for the problems he has posed, for his method is clearly premised upon a natural determinism. The stoical conclusion of his last essay, "Balance Sheet of the Intelligence," follows logically from these premises. The one feature of the age of which he can say no ill is sport. By the usual analogy this is extended to include intellectual sport. Having laid bare the appalling chaos of the modern world, he has only this one remedy to suggest. He defines it (intrepidly paradoxical to the end!) as "the reflective education of the reflexes." There speaks in accents almost pathetic, almost heroic, the vivisectionist of our time.

PHILIP HORTON

New Books: A Reader's List

A HISTORY OF EUROPE FROM THE INVASIONS TO THE XVI CENTURY, by Henri Pirenne (Norton, $5). This book was written during the World War, while the author was kept as a hostage in a small German town without a single historical text to which he could refer. That helps to explain its clarity and simplicity. Pirenne tries to present European history in terms of economic and political evolution. Some of his interpretations may be disputable, but he is always stimulating, especially in the chapters devoted to the rise of feudalism.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AS TOLD BY CONTEMPORARIES, by E. L. Higgins (Houghton Mifflin, $3.50). This book is the application of an excellent idea which could be advantageously followed by many a biographer: instead of a connected narrative, the reader is offered the "raw material" of history, in the form of a skillfully arranged and copiously indexed series of excerpts from first-hand accounts—memoirs, diaries, official documents.

THE CITY LIES FOUR-SQUARE, by Edith Pargeter (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2). A mystic (not mysterious) ghost story, with religious overtones and a gentle accompaniment of romance. The spook here is a miserable fellow who can't find God. Told in a grave, soft-spoken manner, for those who like their houses haunted by the relics of soulful lovers.

FINDING WISDOM, by Gertrude Hartman (John Day, $3). A fine book about the famous Avery Coonley School at Downers Grove, Illinois, now in its twenty-fifth year. Beautifully illustrated with photographs of the grounds and building, the children in library or classrooms, and

WORLD TRADE
By E. B. DIETRICH
Just published
A trained economist here deals with actual processes and problems of *current* national and international commercial policies. New techniques, controls and trade policies of individual nations are carefully described and evaluated.
$2.75
HENRY HOLT & CO., NEW YORK

TRAVEL in EUROPE
and the
SOVIET UNION
VISIT LENINGRAD MOSCOW, ODESSA, KHARKOV, & KIEV
20% REDUCTION ON SOVIET LANDTOURS
— CONDUCTED AND INDEPENDENT TOURS —
For information, call or write
WORLD TOURISTS Inc.
175 FIFTH AVE. (Flatiron Bldg.) N. Y. ALgonquin 4-6656

Foreign Correspondents
DINNER FORUM
SUBJECT:
THE SPANISH CONFLICT
and its
INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE
Chairman: LEON HENDERSON
Speakers: DOROTHY PARKER
W. H. AUDEN
VINCENT SHEEAN
Participants in Round-Table Discussion:
JAY ALLEN — GEORGE SELDES
W. H. AUDEN — VINCENT SHEEAN
RALPH BATES — LELAND STOWE
ROBERT DELL — ERNST TOLLER
DOROTHY PARKER
HOTEL COMMODORE
Thursday, March 16th at 7 P.M.
Reservations: $2.50 per Plate
Auspices:
Emergency Committee for Aid to Republican Spain
Proceeds Administered by Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.
381 Fourth Ave., New York
NR-15
Foreign Correspondents Dinner-Forum, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City.
Please reserve..... plates at the March 16th dinner-forum. Enclosed find my check for..... in payment.
Name.....
Address

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them full of beauty and excitement. A moving argument for the "progressive" methods of Dewey and his disciples.

THE SPIRIT OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION, by Robert N. Wilkin (Yale, $2.50). Develops the theme that the essential nobility of the legal profession has always enabled it to transcend the attempts of predatory interests to subvert it to their own crass ends. Cut to order for law-school sophomores.

SPOILS OF OPPORTUNITY, by Janet Mitchell (Dutton, $3). Among other ventures, Miss Mitchell directed a bank in Australia, sat tight while the Japanese took over Harbin, attended conferences in Hawaii and managed an institution in London. You're more apt to admire the courage and efficiency she brought to these jobs than the undramatic reflections they inspire in retrospect.

WILDERNESS WIFE, by Kathrene Pinkerton (Carrick and Evans, $2.75). The Pinkertons went into the Canadian North Woods with $80 and misgivings; they came out five years later with an income and a baby. No campfire-girl outing here, but a steady tussle with nature at its grimmest, recorded with relish and good humor.

TUSCAN SPRING, by James Cleugh (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2.50). A full-dress pageant of fifteenth-century Florence. Botticelli has the spotlight, but all the celebrities of the period put in their appearance. An ambitious novel, handled with care and erudition—but it's pretty heavy going for the average reader.

A Correction

In a review of "The Coming Struggle for Latin America," by Carleton Beals, published in The New Republic of March 1, 1939, the price was given in error as $2.50. It should have been $3.

Contributors

LOUIS KRONENBERGER, the editor of "An Anthology of Light Verse" and "An Eighteenth Century Miscellany," is at present on the staff of Time.

JOHN STEVENS, a young American, is now living in France, after working for several years in the Soviet Union.

LAWRENCE A. FERNSWORTH has been a correspondent in Spain for The New York Times and The London Times.

JEROME DAVIS, the president of the American Federation of Teachers and formerly on the faculty of Yale University, is the author of "Capitalism and Its Culture."

DUANE DECKER has contributed stories to many magazines. He lives in Bridgeport, Connecticut.

MURIEL RUKEYSER is the author of two books of poems, "Theory of Flight" and "US 1," and is now working on a third, to be published by the Viking Press.

ALFRED VAGTS is a German historian, now living in the United States, author of "A History of Militarism."

MIRIAM BEARD (Mrs. Alfred Vagts), author of "A History of the Business Man," wrote the section "Deletions from 'Mein Kampf,'" in "Nazism: An Assault on Civilization."

JOHN HYDE PRESTON, author of "Revolution: 1776" and "The Liberals," is working on a new novel.

VICTOR YAKHONTOFF's books include "Russia and the Soviet Union in the Far East," "The Chinese Soviets" and "Eyes on Japan." He was once military attaché at the Russian Imperial Embassy in Tokyo.

ROBERT BIERSTEDT is a lecturer in Philosophy and an administrative officer at Columbia University.

PHILIP HORTON is the author of "Hart Crane: The Life of an American Poet." He is now teaching at Harvard and writing a history of American Poetry.

At World Famous
WINTER GARDEN
B'way & 50th St.
Evgs. (8:30) $1.10 to $3.30, except Saturdays, Holiday Eves. and Holidays.

"Season's Unchallenged Smash Hit."—*N.Y. Times*
HELLZAPOPPIN
Cast of 100—50 Lovely Girls
"OLSEN & JOHNSON'S Uproarious Musical virtually rolls 'em in the aisles. The bigger they are the harder they laugh."—*NEWS.*
3 Matinees Weekly: Wed., Thur., and Sat., $1.10—$2.20.

POSTAGE FREE
Books of all publishers promptly mailed anywhere in the U.S.A.
NEW REPUBLIC BOOKS
40 E. 49th St. New York, N. Y.

LECTURES
OPEN FORUM
THE INDEPENDENT LABOR INSTITUTE
131 West 33rd Street
FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 10
William Phillips, Editor Partisan Review: *"State of Left Literature in America."*
FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 17
Ludwig Lore: *"American Foreign Policy Today."*
FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 24
Horace Coon: *"American Foundations."*
Single Admission 25c

LANGUAGES

NOW LEARN A NEW LANGUAGE
in your own home quickly, easily, correctly by the world-famous LINGUAPHONE Method. Endorsed by thousands of students, schools and colleges. Send for FREE Book and 7 Days Trial.
LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
66 R. C. A. BUILDING NEW YORK CITY

CORRESPONDENCE CLUBS
NEW Contacts—thru our Personal Service dedicated to the promotion of friendships. Discriminating clientele. Write or phone.
AMERICAN SERVICE
Grace Bowes, Director
3140-N Godwin Terrace New York City
Telephone: KIngsbridge 6-2921

A FEW FRIENDS, business and professional people nearing retirement, have been giving thought to ways of life adapted to reduced incomes and changing needs. From our informal talks, a few questions have emerged that, in general, seem to be of concern to older people. We should now like to know of others interested in doing some further thinking with us about post-retirement problems, such as housing and living plans, physical care, supplementary occupation. Would you care to take part in exploring these and related problems, without assuming any obligations or commitments? In replying, please say what questions interest you most. Address: Box 133, The New Republic.

RESORT
BIRDLAND
CENTRAL VALLEY, NEW YORK—OPEN ALL YEAR
40 miles from N. Y. in beautiful Ramapo Mountains. Fascinating hiking country, seasonal sports, congenial atmosphere. Mgt. Fannie Goldberg. Tel.: Highland Mills 7895.

PAMPHLETS
NEW PRINTING, "Justice for the Jew," just released, available to all interested in problem of anti-Semitism. Send postcard for free copy. No obligation. American League to Combat Anti-Semitism, Suite 1308-B, 270 Broadway, New York.

CATHOLICS, PROTESTANTS and JEWS should adopt an Evolutionary Philosophy. Free from The Arbitrator, 114 E. 31st Street, New York City.

LITERARY HELP
THESIS WORK, RESEARCH PAPERS. Special Articles, Addresses, promptly prepared to requirements of busy professionals. Our extensive experience available at moderate rates, with assurance of scholarly

Reprints of the Article
How to Stop Dictators
by STUART CHASE
available at the rate of $1 per hundred single copies 5c
The New REPUBLIC
40 EAST 49TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

LIBRARY USE ONLY
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED